

JOURNAL
OF THE
Architectural, Archaeological,
AND
Historic Society,
FOR THE
COUNTY, CITY, AND NEIGHBOURHOOD
OF
Chester.

PART XII.—DIVISION I.



CHESTER:
PRINTED AT THE COURANT OFFICE,
FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY.

MDCCCLXXXIII.

1883

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RULES.

Objects.—The leading Objects of the Society shall be—

- 1.—The improvement of Architectural Taste, Science, and Construction.
- 2.—The illustration and preservation of the Remains of Antiquity and other objects of interest in the City, County, and Neighbourhood.
- 3.—The recommending of plans for the restoration, construction, and improvement of buildings and other works.
- 4.—The collecting of Historic, Archæological, and Architectural information, documents, relics, books, &c.
- 5.—The mutual suggestion and interchange of knowledge on these subjects.

Constitution.—The Society shall consist of Full Members, Life, Members, Associates, and Honorary Members.

The FULL MEMBERS shall consist of all Subscribers of *One Pound* per annum. These shall enjoy *every right* and advantage of the Institution, be eligible into the Council, and have the privilege of introducing Visitors, under restrictions hereafter named.

LIFE MEMBERS.—Donors of Ten Pounds or more shall be Full Members for Life.

The ASSOCIATE MEMBERS shall consist of all Subscribers of *Ten Shillings* per annum, and shall have the right of *personal* attendance at all Lectures, Exhibitions, and Ordinary Meetings, and shall also have *the use of the Library*, a copy of the Society's *Journal*, as published, and be invited to join the occasional Excursions.

LADIES may also be Members of this Society on Subscribing Five Shillings per annum, and shall have a right to attend all Lectures, to purchase the *Journal* at a moderate price, and to present communications through the Secretaries.

Honorary Members shall be chosen by the Council.

The Visitors to be admitted by any Full Member shall be either the ladies of his family, children between 10 and 15 years of age, or strangers from such a distance as the Council shall specify.

Management.—The affairs of the Society shall be conducted by a Council, to consist of the following persons, being Subscribers of *One Pound* per annum:—The Presidents and Officers of the Society; the Archdeacon of Chester; the Chairman of the Improvement Committee of the Chester Town Council; the Canon in Residence; the Principal of the Training College; the Secretary or Treasurer of the Diocesan Church Building Society; the Secretary or Treasurer of the Rural Chapel Society; and four Architects or Builders. To these shall be added other Laity and Clergy, in equal numbers, not exceeding six of each, to be elected by the Full and Associate Members from among the Subscribers of *One Pound* per annum.

Two of these elected classes, viz., Laity and Clergy, and two of the Architects or Builders, shall retire from the Council yearly, in rotation, but shall be immediately re-eligible. Five Members of the Council shall

constitute a quorum. The Council shall re-appoint the Secretaries annually, or choose others in their room.

The Council may appoint Sub-committees for special purposes, or make Bye-laws, yet so as not to violate any of the fundamental principles of the Society, in which no alteration shall be made without the further concurrence of a General Meeting, and sanction of Patrons and Presidents; and if any Full or Associate Member shall be desirous of altering any Rule, he shall propose such alteration to one of the Secretaries, who shall submit it to the discretion of the Council; and before any Bye-law shall be passed by the Council, notice thereof shall have been given at a previous meeting, or especially in writing to each Member of the Council.

There shall be an Annual General Meeting, Quarterly Meetings, and also Monthly Meetings, if the Council see fit, for the specific objects of the Society. There shall also be as many Extraordinary Meetings as the Council may appoint, at which Lectures may be given on any literary or scientific subject, with the sanction of the Council.

Property.—When the Council shall consider any Paper read at a Meeting of the Society worthy of being printed in the *Journal*, they shall request the Author to furnish the manuscript for that purpose.

FULL MEMBERS AND ASSOCIATES will receive a copy of the *Journal* gratis, and the remaining copies shall be sold at a sum to be fixed on by the Council, for the benefit of the Society.

The Author of any Paper printed in the *Journal* may receive 20 copies of his own Paper gratis.

All Books, Prints, Relics, &c., which may be purchased by or presented to the Society, shall be preserved for the use of the Members in such place and custody as shall be appointed by the Council; and all orders for payment, &c., shall be signed by the Chairman and countersigned by the Secretary; and accounts audited in Council by persons appointed for the purpose, preparatory to confirmation at the Annual Meeting.

The Library and Museum of the Society are at present deposited in the large room of the late Albion Hotel, Lower Bridge Street.

Admission of Members.—All Subscriptions shall be counted due on the First day of January, and shall be paid within three months of the date of admission; and, in all future years, between the 1st day of January and 25th day of March. The Council shall also, if they find it desirable, appoint a certain amount of Entrance Money, to be paid on admission.

The Society may be connected with other Literary or Scientific Associations, on such terms as to the Council may seem fit; provided always, that the foregoing fundamental Rules of this Society shall be consented to as essential to the union; and that every new Member shall acknowledge the same as the conditions of admission.

Ladies and Gentlemen wishing to become Members are requested to communicate with either of the Secretaries, or with any member of the Council.

HENRY IV.

PART II.

BEING AN ATTEMPT TO CONNECT SOME CHESHIRE PERSONS,
CIRCUMSTANCES, AND PLACES WITH SHAKESPERE'S
DRAMA OF THIS NAME.

BY

WILLIAM BEAMONT.

ON two previous occasions when this Society favored me with its attention, I had the pleasure to bring before it two of our great bard's historic dramas, "RICHARD II.," which has been called the conspiracy of the Three Henries, and the first part of "HENRY IV." My purpose in doing so was to connect with this county and neighbourhood, some of the persons, circumstances, and events, mentioned in those dramas, which, as my hearers may perhaps recollect, proved to be very numerous.

My subject would seem to be incomplete without the addition of the second part of "HENRY IV.," and although this drama contains fewer local allusions, and will refer more to the bitter harvest which the county reaped than the other two; I propose now to bring it before the Society with such circumstances as seem a consequence of the whole, and as arise out of your county records,—a rich mine of materials for the genealogist, the antiquary, and the historian, of which the county may be justly proud. I propose to do here what I did on the former occasions, use the drama as the thread on which to hang my remarks; and if in attempting to carry out my purpose, I should tax the hearer's patience, I hope he will bear with me for the poet's sake who deserves the best illustration, and a better illustrator than I can hope to be.

See *Chester Archaeological Journal*, vol. III, pp. 215—246.

When we parted last we heard the King, on the field at Shrewsbury, pronouncing Worcester's doom, and reproaching him with having caused the death, on the King's side, of one noble Earl and three Knights; a loss which history but slightly magnifies, for Hume, in summing up the followers the King had lost, names only the Earl of Stafford, Sir Hugh Shirley, Sir Nicholas Gawsel, Sir Hugh Mortimer, Sir John Masey, of Puddington, and Sir John Calveley. The last two were Cheshire men, and the last the inheritor of a name which the pages of Froissart have made immortal.

It has been said that Chief Baron Cockayne changed his ermine for a breast-plate, and fell in the King's host, but this appears to be a mistake.* It is very remarkable that neither the King nor the historian mentions the King's "dear and true industrious friend, Sir Walter Blunt," who died fighting in the King's coat, and who of all men deserved the King's grateful remembrance. I showed formerly, on the authority of Rymer's *Fædera*, that news of the victory at Holmedon, which the poet makes Sir Walter the first to bring, was really not brought by him, but by Nicholas Merbury, a Cheshire man. Sir Walter, however, was a tried Lancastrian, and when John of Gaunt, the King's father, made his will, he honored Sir Walter by making him one of his executors. The Blunts seem to have been unfortunate at this time: one of them, Sir Thomas, was put to death for King Richard II., in 1400. Two others died at Shrewsbury, and Nicholas, another of them, who was there on Hotspur's part, and survived the field, thought it prudent to leave the country afterwards, and to take the name of Croke when he returned; and a fourth is mentioned later in the play, as the person to whom Sir John Coleville was delivered for execution.

Neither the poet nor the historian gives any adequate idea of the fierceness of the fight at Shrewsbury, in which there fell not less than 8,300 men, of whom more than 2,000 were knights and gentlemen, a class on whom in that age of personal prowess the slaughter always fell the heaviest.

Faithful to the cause of the late monarch, in whose corps of Cheshire archers so many men of all ranks were enrolled, and willing

* Thomas de Wendesley, on his tomb at Bakewell, is said to have fallen at Shrewsbury, but it is not said on which side.



Sprague & Co. Photo-Litho. London

The EASTGATE, CHESTER, Taken down in 1766.

to believe that Richard was still alive,* the county had followed Hotspur with devotion to Shrewsbury, notwithstanding that sixty-four of their leading men were then under bail for their good behaviour. Sir Richard Venables, Baron of Kinderton, descended from one of those palatine peers who had served Hugh Lupus, died upon the field; and there also perished by the headsman's axe, in the 47th year of his age, Sir Richard Vernon, Baron of Shipbroke, another of those palatine peers. Their bodies were probably conveyed home to be committed to their family vaults; but Hotspur, their leader, at first found a grave in the church at Whitchurch, where in a later age a far more famous warrior, the great Lord Talbot was buried, and still sleeps in marble effigy. After two days, however, Hotspur's body was taken up, and conveyed to Shrewsbury, and there exposed to satisfy the people of his death; while the King stood before it, and solemnly appealed the body to answer him at the general judgment for all the blood that he had caused to be shed, a solemn mockery which it seems difficult to understand.† When this was over the body was quartered, and one of the quarters sent to Chester, and there fixed up over the east gate, where it remained until his widow piously collected the four quarters, and interred them with reverence at York. Sir Piers Legh had been before beheaded without trial in 1399, and his head had been placed upon the same gate. If these two objects remained there at the same time, the grim spectacle would certainly excite horror, however it might inspire terror. After these preliminary remarks I proceed now to the drama with which we have to do.

At the end of the first part of "HENRY IV.," the curtain fell on the battle field at Shrewsbury: it rises now before Northumberland's castle at Warkworth, where rumour in a dress covered with painted tongues is scattering abroad stories both true and false, about the recent battle and its results :—

I from the Orient to the drooping west
Making the wind my post horse, still unfold
The acts commenced on this ball of earth.

* Hotspur summoning the Cheshire men told them that they might see King Richard alive at Sandiway.—*Traison et Mort Richard II*, 285.

† *Traison et Mort Richard II*, 285.

Upon my tongue continual slanders ride ;
 The which in every language I pronounce,
 Stuffing the ears of men with false reports.

Rumour is a pipe
 Blown by surmises, jealousies, conjectures ;
 And of so easy and so plain a stop,
 That the blunt monster with uncounted heads,
 The still discordant wavering multitude
 Can play upon it.

And then, after giving two opposite accounts of the battle, she retires. Lord Bardolph now enters, and knocking at the castle gate, learns from the porter that the Earl has walked forth into the orchard, and that if he will only knock there the Earl himself will answer him. Those must have been times of primitive simplicity of manners, when a great Earl did not disdain to be his own porter and to answer the knock at his own gate. Presently the Earl enters, and thus hastily asks Lord Bardolph the news ?—

Every minute now
 Should be the father of some stratagem,
 The times are wild, contention like a horse
 Full of high feeding madly hath broke loose,
 And bears down all before him.

To which Lord Bardolph replies that he brings news from Shrewsbury as good as heart can wish, “ that the King is dangerously wounded, the Prince of Wales killed by Hotspur, and both the Blunts by Douglas, with other like particulars. Their discourse is interrupted by the entrance of Travers, the Earl’s servant, who had been sent out to hearken for news. With hopes newly raised by Lord Bardolph’s relation, the Earl eagerly demands his servant’s news ? and he replies—

My Lord, Sir John Umfreville turned me back
 With joyful tidings, and being better horsed
 Outrode me. After him came spurring hard
 A gentleman almost forespent with speed,
 That stopt me to breathe his bloodied horse,
 He asked the way to Chester ; and of him
 I did demand what news from Shrewsbury,
 He told me that rebellion had ill luck
 And that young Harry Percy’s spur was cold ;
 With that he gave his able horse the head
 And bending forward struck his armed heels
 Against the panting sides of his poor jade
 Up to the rowel head.

How vividly, by a single touch, the great painter brings before us the gentleman who was stopt by Travers! We almost hear the heaving of his horse's sides as his rider stops to ask the way to Chester. Well might he be in haste to be there, for the Cheshire men who had been favourers of Richard II., and still cherished his memory, had marched in large numbers with Hotspur to Shrewsbury, which made their friends at home doubly anxious to know the result of the battle.

After hearing Travers to the end, Lord Bardolph endeavours to discredit his story, but "suspicion hath a ready tongue," and the Earl has his misgivings, which are now interrupted by the arrival of Morton from Shrewsbury, of whom the Earl, turning to him in haste, eagerly demands, "How doth my son and brother?" and then as fearing the worst, and without waiting for a reply, he adds—

Thou tremblest and the whiteness of thy cheek
Is apter than thy tongue to tell thy errand.

To break the news more gradually Morton replies :—

Douglas is living and your brother yet :
But for my lord your son
Mine eyes did see him in bloody state,
Rendering faint quittance, wearied and out-breath'd,
To Henry Monmouth ; whose swift wrath beat down
The never-daunted Percy to the earth,
From whence with life he never more sprung up.
In fine, his death (whose spirit lent a fire
Even to the dullest peasant in his camp)
Being bruited once, took fire and heat away
From the best-temper'd courage in his troops :
For from his metal was his party steel'd.

Having heard him to the end, Northumberland sadly observes—

For this I shall have time enough to mourn,—
In poison there is physie.

The King, it is believed, repaired to Chester soon after the battle of Shrewsbury; and finding rumour, with her uncounted tongues, as busy there as she had been before the Castle of Warkworth, he tried to bridle them; and for that purpose he issued out commissions to all parts of the county, requiring the commissioners to arrest all the spreaders of false news (the word in the Cheshire records which I so translate is *marisnusa*) and fables, and all who excited commotions amongst the people.

The King could have stayed but a short time in Chester, for on the 19th August, less than a month after the battle, he was at York, where he heard mass in the Cathedral, and was the guest (not a very welcome one) of Archbishop Scrope, whose brother, the Earl of Wiltshire, he had lately put to death.* But policy took the King to York, and reconciled him to this double-facedness.

Meanwhile warrants and precepts of many kinds appear on the county records. On the 16th September, not two months after the battle, the Prince appointed Sir John Stanley, a Cheshire man, of the house of Hooton, and steward of his household, to be keeper of the county of Chester, and to resist the malice of the Welsh rebels round about. Another warrant of the same month gave commandment to the Prince's officers to seize into his hands the lands of such gentlemen of the county as had refused to lend their assistance towards the relief of Harlech Castle, then besieged by the enemy; and very shortly afterwards Sir Thomas le Grosvenor was commanded to repair with all speed with his family and power to his lands at Pulford and Church-en-Heath, on the Welsh Marches, and there to stay and abide, that he might resist the malice of the rebel Owen Glendower. Many other Cheshire men received a similar command at the same time.

The mention of this chieftain (Owen Glendower) induces me to say a few words in order to clear him from some of the charges made against him, and which, resting on the authority of the fables of Hall, the Chronicler, were believed until the researches of Mr. Endell Tyler, in his "Memoirs of Henry of Monmouth," refuted them. A warrior who, with only the resources of a part of his own small country at his back, could hold his own against all the power of England for fifteen years is entitled to the rank of a hero. He was excepted during all that time from every act of amnesty; and when at last he received a pardon from the victor of Agincourt, he retired to Monnington, in Herefordshire, where being thought to have assumed the name of John of Kent, he disappeared from history. One of Glendower's most illustrious prisoners was the Lord Grey of Ruthyn, a Cheshire man, and the owner of Rushton, near Tarporley. He had ravaged Glendower's lands, and it was told the latter that he had received the king's

* *York Fabric Rolls*. Surtees' Society, 191-2.

commands to take his life; and I take a description of a scene which was the consequence from the recent drama of *Glendower*:—

So Grey has Bolingbroke's good leave to slay me,
But not my sword's good leave; nor shall have mine.
Come forth, companion steel, whom to my side
Unwillingly I clasped, to other ends
And other studies fitted from my birth.

The two chieftains, as was to be expected, very shortly meet, when Grey, being disarmed and made prisoner, knowing that he would have no quarter, exclaims :—

Ill fortune's star has lighted on my sword,
Wilt thou take life, or dare I ransom crave ?

To which his captor replies :—

I hold your lordship's life too precious far
To waste with murderous prodigality.
Keep it, my lord, to serve what side you will,
And for some passing service to our cause.
We cannot feast you with such lordly pomp
As when you graced the royal coronation.
But in our hunger-stricken hills, with us
Poor pensioners of nature's sterner mood,
My lord will please a season to abide.

(From *Owen Glendower*, a poem by Rowland Williams.)

Grey was afterwards ransomed by the King for 10,000 marks [*Harl. MSS. 1989, fo. 381*], which shows the estimation in which he held the services of his Cheshire subject. Glendower held fast by his allegiance to Richard II., and refused to acknowledge Bolingbroke. He was not a confederate, but an opponent, of Hotspur; and he did not witness the battle of Shrewsbury from the Shelton oak, but was in a distant part of the country at the time.

We return to the records. By one of these, dated a few weeks after the battle, the mayor and sheriffs were commanded to expel all the Welsh from the city, and to allow none of them to be there before sunrise or after sunset.* A little later, a John Ambler, clerk, Griffith Henry ap Bleth, and others, had safe conducts to approach the King to make their peace for having joined in Percy's rebellion; and Howell ap Meuric, and two others, were sent prisoners to Chester Castle, to remain during the King's pleasure. But of all the records, the most numerous are those which relate to the offending

* *The Cheshire Sheaf*, I., p. 36.

men of Cheshire who had incurred forfeitures of their lands and goods for being in the field at Shrewsbury. Amongst these are inquisitions on Sir Richard Vernon, Sir Richard Venables, Sir John Masey, of Tatton (his namesake of Puddington had fallen on the other side), Sir Hugh Browe (of Malpas) Sir William Legh (of Baguley), Thomas and John de Beeston, and Hugh le Legh, all of whom had fallen in the battle. Those who had not so fallen, but had incurred forfeitures by being there, were Sir Piers Dutton, Sir John de Wynnyngton, Adam Bostock, John Done, Robert de Leftwyche, John Legh (of Booths), John de Molyngton, Thomas de Holford, Thos. Spark, Richard Cholmondeley, Arthur de Davenport (of Calveley, sixth son of John de Davenport, and the first founder of that house), David de Nunnerley, William de Crue, John de Kynaston, Randel del Moore, Peter Fitz Robert de Brundley, Thos. de Huxley, John de Aldersey, David Bykley, Roger de Bykerton, John de Knight, and Henry de Bebbington, names which sufficiently speak their Cheshire origin. Besides these, there were inquisitions on Hotspur and Worcester.

To give the particulars of all these inquisitions would carry us too far, but I shall allude to a few of them. The inquisitions taken on Hotspur and Worcester found that they had neither lands nor goods in the county, though it might reasonably have been expected to be otherwise; for Ralph Percy died not long before in battle with the Saracens, and it was found that he was the owner of Fulk Stapleford, and that Hotspur was his heir. Ralph was one of the heroes of Otterburne, which is the subject of "Chevy Chase," the ballad which Sir Philip Sidney said stirred his spirit like a trumpet. In no case were the personal chattels of the sufferers found to be of much value, which might be in part owing to the jurors not inquiring too strictly after them, unwilling perhaps, to add sorrow to sorrow. Richard Vernon, baron of Kinderton, one of the greatest of Cheshire notables, bore a shield *argent* fretty *gules*, to which a cadet of the house added a martlet, saying as he could not walk with the legs of the family, he must take wing. Sir Richard's lands were saved by the law of entail, and came to his son of his own name who forgot and forgave his father's fate, and died on the bed of glory at Agincourt. The personal chattels of this great baron were found to be worth no more than £6 6s. 8d., and they consisted of—

| | £ | s. | d. |
|--|---|----|----|
| Two beds, worth | 2 | 6 | 8 |
| Three earthen vessels and a dish, worth ... | 0 | 13 | 4 |
| One furnace, worth | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Two beasts of burden with two foals, worth ... | 1 | 6 | 8 |
| Two sows and eight small pigs, worth ... | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| Six acres of corn, worth | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Two stirks, worth | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| Two acres of barley, worth | 0 | 8 | 0 |
| Peas, worth | 0 | 8 | 0 |
| Two loads of hay | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| Two acres of peas and beans, worth ... | 0 | 3 | 4 |
| Six acres of aniseed | 1 | 0 | 0 |

The inquisition on William Legh, of Baguley, found that he had in the hands of Jocosa, his wife—

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|----|----|
| Seven beds, worth 6s. 8d. each | 2 | 6 | 8 |
| Household instruments, worth | 0 | 13 | 4 |
| Two beasts of burden, worth 20s. each ... | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Eight oxen, worth 13s. 4d. each | 5 | 6 | 8 |
| Four cows, worth 6s. 8d. each | 1 | 6 | 8 |
| Six stirks, worth 4s. each | 1 | 4 | 0 |
| Eight acres of aniseed,* worth 3s. 4d. each ... | 1 | 0 | 0 |

The inquisition on Griffith ap Madoc found that his goods were—One three-footed iron stool, one gridiron, one possetnet, four wooden paniers, worth 4s.; twelve sacks, one cart saddle, one pair of tongs, 14 wooden dishes, one breast plate, and one cloak.

We gather from the records that so general had been the disaffection of the county before the battle, and so great the alarm after, that they gladly consented to purchase peace at the price of three thousand marks, and to raise and pay the money in three years. At first, the King appointed certain of his friends to receive the money; but he afterwards entrusted it to the Prince of Wales, whom he also empowered either to chastise or to receive into

* Aniseed, the crop mentioned in two of these inquisitions, is likely to surprise a Cheshire farmer. It was used largely by our ancestors in the composition of distilled waters when spirits were less used. It was of use in stomachic complaints, and it has still a place in the Pharmacopœia, but it was not the anise of Scripture, for that was the dill plant. Brandy seems to have been first brought here from France. In an argument in the Exchequer 1668, it was resolved that it was not a strong water but a spirit, and the next year the House of Commons resolved it to be a spirit perfectly made.—Jacob's *Law Dictionary*.—Brandy.

favour all such persons either in Cheshire or Denbighshire as had incurred the King's displeasure in joining in the late rebellion. The King, it must be remembered, was the baron of Halton, and when the three thousand marks were to be collected, the Chamberlain was excused from collecting £20 8s. 7d. of it, which was the proportion due for Halton, and the King's other demesnes in the county.

For the part the citizens of Chester had taken they submitted to a separate fine of 300 marks, but this fine was afterwards remitted in consideration of their supplying, fitting out, and victualling certain ships intended to be sent to the relief of Beaumaris castle; and a little later a still more onerous duty was put on them which they did not think it politic to decline. The Prince of Wales, as the record informs us, appointed Hugh de Milton and others to be commanders and admirals of the war ships and barges, in which the mayor and his fellow citizens (conceives) were about to put to sea against the Prince's enemies. How would the present worshipful the mayor like to be put upon such a service now? Hugh de Milton, the admiral, was one of the sheriffs, and the spirited mayor this year was John Ewlowe. We are at no loss to know how ships and sailors were collected at this time, for the warrants exist by which Sir John Pull and Sir John Hyghly were authorised to arrest ships for service in war at sea. So that the song of the four-and-twenty press-gang fellows tells of an ancient as well as a modern mode of supplying the navy, a custom which has only disappeared in the present century.

Another entry in the Chamberlain's Accounts about this time is curious. By it he charges four pounds as paid to Richard Castell, the king's sergeant, in part of a gift of eight pounds which the people of Runcorn owed the king for suffering the escape of Robert Morysson, a felon charged with slaying one Thomas de Builde, and who for his offence had taken refuge in Runcorn Church. But at the end of all these forfeitures, there were not wanting some acts of a more agreeable kind. Not long after the battle, the king ordered the city to deliver ale and victuals to the abbot and convent of Basingwerk, and to all such loyal gentlemen as had held by their allegiance in the county of Flint. The king's friends were also remembered, and he gave gifts of land to Michael Hauberk (not a bad name for a soldier in that day) and Henry Roccliff, for the good service they had done at Shrewsbury. He also gave Henry White

a home in the leper house at Boughton, and commanded the brethren to receive him as a brother; and at the same time he gave John Denby the chaplain's place there. On 18 August, 4 Hen. IV. he also gave John Mainwaring all the lands and goods which Sir Hugh Browe had forfeited by his rebellion,* and to William Bradshaw, of Lancashire, who was wounded at Shrewsbury, he gave a grant of 6s. a year for his good service. For his share in the rebellion, Peter Werburton obtained a special pardon, dated 5 Sept. 4 Hen. IV. 1403; by which, after reciting that falsely and wickedly, and forgetting his allegiance, he had been in arms at Shrewsbury and had thereby forfeited all his lands and goods, the king of his special grace did pardon him and restore to him the whole of them. And as if this were not enough, by another grant dated 6th February following, the king out of his reverence for God, and at the special instance of his loving consort the Queen Johanna, a touching incident of the case, renewed this pardon. The Queen had been married by proxy at Eltham, on the 3rd April, 1402, but the actual marriage did not take place until 7th February, 1403, when it was celebrated with great pomp at Winchester. Afterwards, the twice pardoned rebel was commissioned to arrest horses in the hundred of Bucklow, for mounting the gentlemen of that hundred who were to proceed on the Prince's service into North Wales.

Amusements, too, were not wholly drowned in the din of war. Orders were issued to bring certain falcons to Chester castle for the use of the Prince, and to clear the forest of Mara of all dogs and swine, that the game might be better preserved.

Upon the spot where the greatest slaughter took place in the battle, there now stands the memorial church of Battle Field. It does not appear when this church, once the college of St. Mary Magdalen, was erected, but if it was founded soon after the battle it remained long unfinished; for on the 24th February, 1452, the Archbishop of York granted a year's indulgence to all such persons as should contribute to its completion. It does not speak well for the piety of our forefathers that such a memorial should have lingered so long, though Fuller says church work is ever a cripple to go up.

Two years have passed since, leaving Rumour before the gates of Warkworth, we returned to Chester with the messenger, who

* *History of Cheshire*, I., p. 307.

asked his way of Travers. Resuming the poet's story, we now go back to Warkworth; where we find Morton, a name which occurs afterwards in the records as a servant of the King, imparting to Northumberland the intelligence that—

The gentle archbishop of York is up,
 With well-appointed powers; he is a man,
 Who with a double surety binds his followers.
 My lord your son had only but the corps,
 But shadows and the shows of men to fight;
 For that same word, rebellion, did divide
 The action of their bodies from their souls;
 And they did fight with queasiness, constrain'd,
 As men drink potions.

The next scene brings us to a street in London, where Sir John Falstaff is walking, attended by his page; an office which, according to Shallow, the fat knight once filled under Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk. The conversation between Sir John and his little follower is interrupted by the entrance of Chief Justice Gascoigne, and by the page whispering to his master "Here comes the nobleman who committed the Prince for striking him about Bardolph." This celebrated judge was empowered by Henry IV. to raise forces against the Percies, and in the subsequent rising of Archbishop Scrope he was similarly employed.* Just before Shakspeare's time, there was a comic actor called Forget-not-Tarlton, whose name was given him at the font by those who never thought to see him an actor.

Once when this person was performing the Judge's part in the old play of HENRY V., Knoll, who played the Prince's part, and intended mischief, struck the Chief Justice such a violent blow on the ear as made him reel, and sent the audience off in convulsions of laughter. At this time no company of actors except the court players, had more than six performers, and so it often happened that one actor had to sustain several parts. Tarlton, who had two characters to sustain on the above occasion, went off in his character of the Chief Justice, and shortly after returned in the character of a clown, when, with the liberty which was then conceded to clowns, he asked with apparent unconcern, what made the audience so merry. "Oh," replied his brother actor, "If thou had'st been here

* Jefferson's *Law and Lawyers*, I., p. 80.

just now, thou would'st have seen the Prince give the Judge a terrible blow on the ear." "Methinks it must indeed have been a terrible blow to the judge," said Tarlton, "since the very report of it so terrifies me, that my cheek actually tingles and burns again"—which sent the audience off into a greater roar of laughter than before. Tarlton, with his tabor and pipe, is figured in one of Fairholt's costumes.

After some sparring between them, the Chief Justice tells Sir John that he follows the Prince up and down like his ill angel, to which Sir John replies—"Not so, my lord! Your ill angel is light, but I hope he that looks upon me will take me without weighing; and yet, in some respects, I grant, I cannot go, I cannot tell." This is one of the anachronisms in which writers in Shakspeare's time were fond of indulging. The angel was first coined by Edward IV., and not before. Another of these coin anachronisms occurs in the play of King John, where the bastard Faulconbridge, in disparaging his brother, says, I would not have

My face so thin,
That in mine ear I durst not stick a rose,
Lest men should say, look where three farthings goes.

which is an evident allusion to Queen Elizabeth's coinage of that name.

The scene now transports us to the palace of the Archbishop, at York, where he and the Lords Hastings, Mowbray, and Bardolph, are holding a conference, the result of which the archbishop thus announces:—

Let us on,
And publish the occasion of our arms,
The commonwealth is sick of their own choice,
Their overgreedy love hath surfeited.
A habitation, giddy and unsure,
Hath he that buildeth on the vulgar heart,
O, thou fond many with what loud applause,
Did'st thou beat heaven with blessing Bolingbroke.
Before he was what thou would'st have him be.

In the next act Sir John Falstaff is arrested by a catchpole or bailiff in a buff jerkin, which explains the prince's question to him whether a buff jerkin is not a sweet robe of durance. As the Prince and Poins are walking in the next scene, the Prince confesses that he is weary, and owns to a desire for small beer, whereupon Poins replies that a prince should not be so loosely studied as to remember

so weak a composition. "Belike then," says the Prince, "my appetite is not princely, for in troth I do now remember the poor creature small beer." There was a joke current about the Queen's beer in Shakspeare's time, which probably gave rise to the above allusion. Our new acquaintance Forget-not-Tarlton was in great favour with the Queen, and was frequently at the palace, until some of the courtiers said it was a shame for the Queen to be governed by a fool; and he was forbidden to come there again. While he was in favour he made the thinness of the palace beer a frequent subject of his wit. The royal beer, if we may trust his account of it, was not open to the complaint which Burleigh received in 1586, that some of the nobles used beer above the proper strength, as Drowne or Court beer, or Marche beer, to save wine. (Notes and Queries, Jan. 1857, p. 5.) Nor was it equal to that ale we hear of in the Shepherd's play, performed before the Earl of Derby in this City, and which is extolled in the verse—

And *brave ale* of Halton I have
And whotte meat I had to my hire,
A pudding may no man deprave,
And a jaunooke of Lankastershire.

Hitherto no ladies have been mentioned in the play: but now we are ushered into a room in Warkworth Castle, where the Countess of Northumberland and Hotspur's widow are pleading with the Earl not to join the Archbishop in his rising. At first he hears them impatiently—

I prithee, loving wife and gentle daughter,
Give even away into my rough affairs;
Put not you on the visage of the times,
And be like them to Percy, troublesome.

After this rebuff his wife is silent: but Lady Percy, though she had pleaded with her husband in vain, is now bolder with his father, and will not desist. Mark and compare her character of her noble husband with that given elsewhere of his chivalrous rival the Prince of Wales, and see how by a word she acquaints us with his thick utterance—

Lady P. O, yet, for Heaven's sake, go not to these wars!
The time was, father, that you broke your word,
When you were more endear'd to it than now;
When your own Percy, when my heart's dear Harry,
Threw many a northward look, to see his father
Bring up his powers; but he did long in vain.

Who then persuaded you to stay at home?
 There were two honours lost ; yours, and your son's.
 For yours, may heavenly glory brighten it !
 For his, it stuck upon him, as the sun
 In the grey vault of heaven ; and, by his light,
 Did all the chivalry of England move
 To do brave acts ; he was, indeed, the glass
 Wherein the noble youth did dress themselves.
 He had no legs that practis'd not his gait ;
 And speaking thick, which nature made his blemish,
 Became the accents of the valiant ;
 For those that could speak low, and tardily,
 Would turn their own perfection to abuse,
 To seem like him : So that, in speech, in gait,
 In diet, in affections of delight,
 In military rules, humours of blood,
 He was the mark and glass, copy and book,
 That fashion'd others.

Northumberland, when after hearing Morton to the end, he exclaimed

A scaly gauntlet now with joints of steel
 Must glove this hand,

showed some of his son's fiery haste, but he had none of his chivalrous valour, and to him might have been fitly addressed the reproach which Glendower applied to Mortimer.

In the next scene we are introduced to Ancient Pistol, who borrows both his bombast and its name from that alchemist of many names Philippus, Auriolus, Paracelsus, Theophrastus Bombastes de Hohenheim. In his exclamation, "Have we not Hiren here?" by which he means his sword, which was called after that of Amadis de Gaul, we have an example of his fustian; but what follows, in which he makes Hannibal a cannibal, the Greeks Trojans, and the dog Cerberus a king, exceeds this. He says—

These be good humours, indeed, shall pack horses
 And hollow pampered jades of Asia,
 Which cannot but go thirty miles a day,
 Compare with Cæsars and with cannibals
 And Trojan Greeks ;
 Nay, rather damn them with King Cerberus,

And then he ends with quoting this burlesque from the Battle of Alcazar—

Then feed and be fat, my fair Calipolis.

In the third act, at which we have now arrived, the King, weak and feeble, and sitting on his couch, is comparing it to the

watch box in which a sentry keeps watch over a beleaguered town, and he breaks out into his well-known soliloquy—

How many thousands of my poorest subjects
Are at this hour asleep ? O sleep, O gentle sleep,
Nature's soft nurse, how have I frighted thee,
That thou no more wilt weigh my eyelids down,
And steep my senses in forgetfulness ?
Why, rather sleep, liest thou in smoky cribs,
Upon uneasy pallets stretching thee,
And hush'd with buzzing night flies to thy slumber.
Than in the perfum'd chambers of the great,
Under the canopies of costly state.
And lull'd with sounds of sweetest melody ?
O thou dull god, why liest thou with the vile
In loathsome beds ; and leav'st the kingly couch
A watch case, or a common larum bell ?

He is interrupted by his nobles coming in to discuss the means of meeting the revolt of the Archbishop, which they assure him will be easily subdued.

In the next scene we are in Justice Shallow's quaint old mansion in Gloucestershire. "Who," asks a modern writer, "does not remember its gable end, its gilt vane, its stone shafted oriel, its chimneys of moulded brick with their rich ornaments overgrown with ivy or honeysuckle. Outside is the old terrace with its ivied statues and roses; inside, the old hall with its lozenged floor, stag's horns and quaint old-fashioned pictures." (Thornbury, I., 65.)* The fourth act transports us to Gaultree forest in Yorkshire, where the Archbishop tells his confederates he has received

New-dated letters from Northumberland;
Their cold intent, tenor, and substance, thus :—
Here doth he wish his person, with such powers
As might hold sortance with his quality;
The which he could not levy : whereupon
He is retir'd, to ripe his growing fortunes,
To Scotland : and concludes in hearty prayers,
That your attempts may overlive the hazard
And fearful meeting of their opposite.

* At the commemoration in Trin. Coll., Camb., there was, and perhaps still is, set before every guest after dinner, a roasted apple strewn with caraway seeds, which must remind us of Shallow's proposed entertainment to Falstaff "You shall see mine orchard where, in an arbour, we will eat a last year's pippin of my own grafting with a dish of caraways."

Had the letter which Hotspur received at Shrewsbury, left its infection in the house at Warkworth? Northumberland's letters came in the place of their master, and were ominous.

And here I stay to mention that four of Hotspur's letters, and two of his father's, have been lately printed in the Privy Council proceedings. Two of Hotspur's are dated at Denbigh, and one is dated 10th April, 1401. They are all in French, and unsigned. Hotspur was in arms at the siege of Berwick, at the age of 12, and all his life, he used the sword oftener than the pen.

The King's forces, led by Westmoreland and Prince John, now confront the forces of the Archbishop, and Prince John addresses the latter—

You, lord Archbishop,
Whose see is by a civil peace maintained ;
Whose beard the silver hand of peace hath touched,
Whose learning and good letters peace hath tutored,
Whose white investments figure innocence
The dove and very blessed spirit of peace :
Wherefore do you so ill translate yourself
Out of the speech of peace that bears such grace
Into the harsh and boisterous tongue of war ?

After a parley, the Archbishop offers a schedule of his demands, and after consultation Prince John answers that he allows them all, and the rebel army then disbands; whereupon the Archbishop and his confederates are then arrested for high treason, an act of perfidy, in which the king must share, and from the stain of which all his and Prince John's fame will not clear their memory.

Immediately after the arrest, the King gave orders to Sir Wm. Gascoigne, to try the Archbishop and Lord Mowbray; but instead of trying them, the intrepid chief justice said, "I am so much beholden to your highness, that all your lawful commands I am bound to obey; but over the life of the prelate I have not, and your highness cannot give me, any jurisdiction, and, for the other prisoner he is a peer, and has a right to be tried by his peers." But a more obsequious judge was found in Sir William Fulthorpe, who placing himself on a throne in the Archbishop's palace, called both the prisoners before him, and without indictment or form of trial, condemned them both to be beheaded, and the sentence was executed accordingly. Talleyrand, standing by the tomb of the Archbishop, and remembering the incidents of his death, exclaimed, "his fate

was just: whoever rises in rebellion and does not succeed, deserves to die. His conduct is worse than a crime, it is a mistake!"

Two years before, the King had been the Archbishop's guest, and consequences not expected followed his legalised murder: for the people, who considered his death a martyrdom, made him a saint; large gifts were offered, and miracles wrought at his shrine, until it was forbidden by a royal ordinance.* A similar attempt to put down miracles by a king of France, gave birth to the Pasquinade—

De part le roi defense a Dieu
De faire miracles en ce lieu !

Falstaff, who about this time falls into a soliloquy about sack, attributes Prince John's dislike of him to his having no fondness for this wine, which was almost as great a compound as the fat knight himself; for we have sherry sack, canary sack, sack and toast, sack and sugar, old sack, burnt sack, mulled sack, and sack with lime in it: according to some it was a mixture either of cyder and sherry, or cyder and canary with sugar in it, and had its name either from the French word, *sec*, dry, the Italian *sacco*, the leather bottle which held it, or from the sequin, the Venetian coin, the price at which it was sold. Canary, one of the wines of which sack was made, had even more meanings than it. When Mrs. Quickly was a little elevated, she was said to be in her "canaries." There was also a dance of that name; one of the best kinds of tobacco was so-called; and canary is still the name of one of our stranger song birds."

In this soliloquy Falstaff seems to assume that Prince John was Duke of Lancaster, but this is a mistake, as he was never so. When Henry IV. assumed the crown, his dukedom of Lancaster, and all his other titles, including that of Baron of Halton, which was part of his duchy of Lancaster, became merged in the crown. But being well aware that, while he held the duchy of Lancaster by an indefeasible title, his right to the crown was most questionable, one of his first royal measures was to obtain an act, that his eldest son, the Prince of Wales, in addition to his other titles, should have and bear the title of Duke of Lancaster; and that neither the King's inheritance of his said duchy, nor its liberties, should be changed, transferred, or diminished, through his assumption

* *York Fabric Rolls*, pp. 191-5.

of the royal dignity. After this re-grant of the dukedom, the Prince of Wales, in all writs and official acts, constantly styled himself Duke of Lancaster; and on the handsome seal of his lordship of Carmarthen which, is given in the *History of the Castle of Halton, and Priory or Abbey of Norton* (p. 90), he bears the titles of Prince of Wales, Duke of Aquitaine, Lancaster and Cornwall, and Earl of Chester.* In the county records there is a memorandum which shows that after the above act, the Prince of Wales became Duke of Lancaster. On 22nd August, 5 Henry IV. says the following record, Master William Swinburne, lieutenant justice of Chester, delivered to John de Capenhurst, mayor, a wain or wagon bound with iron, and two horses, for Henry, the Duke of Lancaster.

There being a lull in the King's sea of troubles he made his will, in which he neither mentions the Virgin nor the saints. It is written in English, and breathes forgiveness of injuries and Christian charity throughout, and except that he founds a chantry, it might have been written by a follower of Wickliffe. John Norbury, probably a Cheshire man, and one of those who sailed with him from Port le Blanc, in Brittany, when he came a "poor unminded outlaw sneaking home," is one of the witnesses.

The King, who is declining in health, is in his palace, and his son Clarence, who was lord of the honour of Hawarden, is with him. The King having asked him of the whereabouts of the Prince of Wales, he makes this answer, "With Poins and other his continual followers." An ungenerous answer, which lessens our regard for his fate at Beaugé, where

Swinton laid his lance in rest,
And tamed of yore the sparkling crest
Of Clarence's Plantagenet.

Westmoreland now entering, brings the King news that the Archbishop and his confederates have been brought to the correction of the law and, their forces dispersed, upon which he exclaims—

O! Westmoreland, thou art a summer bird,
Which ever in the haunch of winter
Sings the lifting up of day.

* In the Inquisition post mortem of Sir Hugh Cholmondeley, amongst the Eaton charters (39 Elizabeth), the Queen is styled the Duchess of Lancaster, but, since Henry V., no prince or sovereign, except Queen Elizabeth, has been styled Duke or Duchess of Lancaster.

What bird is it that suggested this beautiful comparison? Out of our 365 British birds the list of our song birds is soon reckoned. They are, the lark, the nightingale, the blackbird, the thrush, the missel thrush, the robin, the wren, the linnet, the goldfinch, the willow wren, and the woodlark. Several birds may prefer a claim to be this "summer bird," as first the winter thrush, of which we read in in the *Lyra Apostolica*—

Sweet bird, up earliest in the morn,
Up earliest in the year,
Far in the quiet mist are borne
Thy matins soft and clear.
As linnet soft, and clear as lark,
Well hast thou ta'en thy part,
Where many an ear thy notes may reach,
And here and there a heart!

And secondly the lark, of which Milton sings, .

"Hear the lark begin his flight,
From his watch tower in the skies,
'Till the dappled morn arise."

Broome too thus sings of it,

The lark sweet warbling on the wing,
Salutes the gay return of spring!

Another poet says of it,

Higher, still higher,
From the earth thou springest,
Like a cloud of fire,
The deep blue thou wingest,

And singing still dost soar and soaring ever singest!

But Mrs. Browning in her allusions to the lark is fullest,

Near all the birds
Will sing at dawn, and yet we do not take
The chaffering swallow for the holy lark!

And again in another place

My soul was singing of a work apart,
Behind the wall of sense as safe from harm,
As sings the lark when suck'd up out of sight,
In vortices of glory and blue air.

But of all the birds the lark is that which may be most truly said to sing in the haunch of winter, and to hail the dawn.

More good news now coming in, the King exclaims—

Wherefore should these good news make me sick,
Will Fortune never come with both hands full,
But write her fair words still in foulest letters?

She either gives a stomach and no food—
 Such are the poor in health ; or else a feast
 And takes away the stomach—such are the rich
 That have abundance and enjoy it not.
 I should rejoice now at this happy news,
 And now my sight fails, and my brain is giddy.

And then he swoons, and that well-known scene follows, in which the King coming to himself, expostulates with the Prince of Wales on his having taken the crown. "Come hither to me, Harry," he says, to which the Prince replies, "I never thought to hear you speak again," and then the King concludes the most eloquent and touching passage of the drama with this advice:—

Be it thy course, to busy giddy minds
 With foreign quarrels ; that action, hence borne out,
 May waste the memory of the former days.
 More would I, but my lungs are wasted so,
 That strength of speech is utterly denied me.
 How came I by the crown, O Heaven forgive !
 And grant it may with thee in true peace live !

P. Hen. My gracious liege,
 You won it, wore it, kept it, gave it me ;
 Then plain and right must my possession be ;
 Which I, with more than with a common pain,
 'Gainst all the world will rightfully maintain.

In Shakspeare's time three stages were required to make a complete title at law to land,—actual possession, right of possession, and a right of property and possession,—all which might be acquired by length of time and a descent cast. The Prince in his speech, or the poet by him, clearly shews that he was aware of all these niceties. The King dies shortly after in the Jerusalem chamber.*

* Henry IV, as his son after him, had been filled with the thought of expiating his usurpations by a crusade. His illness meanwhile had grown upon him during the last years of his life, so as to render him a burden to himself and to those around him. He was covered with a hideous leprosy, and was almost bent double with pain and weakness. In this state he had come up to London for his last Parliament. The galleys were ready for the voyage. It was apparently soon after Christmas that the King was making his prayers at St. Edward's shrine, "to take there his leave and speed him on his journey, when he became so sick, that such as were about him feared that he would have died right there." He was carried thence into the Jerusalem chamber in the Abbot's house, where he ultimately died ; and it was there that he was attended by his son, the Prince of Wales, and the scene about the crown took place. (Stanley's *Westminster Abbey*, pp. 374-375).

And here, having exceeded the space allotted me, I close this paper in the words of a transatlantic admirer of our literature; who says, we learn more of the moral aspect of the reign of HENRY IV from the pages of Shakspeare than from history. Henry wore the crown of England, an anxious and a melancholy man; and while in his accession there was more of craft and less of atrocity than in the Scottish usurper, there were doubtless times when, in the still hours of his sleepless nights, and in the silent chambers of his palace, and in the more secret and silent chambers of his conscience, he felt with guilty sinking of the heart,

Better be with the dead
Whom we to gain our place have sent to peace,
Than on the torture of the mind to lie
In restless ecstasy



Gleanings from an Old City Church,

BEING A SHORT HISTORY OF THE

PARISH OF ST. PETER'S, CHESTER,

ITS CHARITIES, OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS, & CHURCH MONUMENTS.

BY

ISAAC ENGLAND EWEN.

HENRY BRADSHAW, a monk of Chester, writing the LIFE OF ST. WERBURGH, says that "about 140 years after the sufferings of our Saviour CHRIST, the Christian faith and baptism were promulgated in CHESTER; and that then a Church was here built, and at that time called by the name of STS. PETER AND PAUL. It was the Mother Church and the burial place to all CHESTER, and seven miles beyond, and continued so for the space of 300 years and more." He further related that religion flourished in CHESTER above all cities and towns in the region. The commandments of GOD were observed aright, charity was fervent, increasing day and night; and that in the mother church of ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL all Holy Sacraments were daily ministered.

About the end of the sixth century, Ethelbert, King of Kent, was baptized by St. Augustine, and it is recorded that in gratitude to Almighty God for the royal Christian convert, a special thanksgiving service was held in all the churches of the land dedicated to the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul. Therefore, within the walls of our Chester Church, thanksgiving and praise were offered to GOD for a circumstance, that history showed was productive of the most beneficial results to the country at large.

Other characters now took their part in this historical drama. The Lady ELFLEDA had a saintly friend whose history, life, and character, are familiar to most Cestrians. She loved this friend, and she loved the cause of religion. The expression of her love to ST. WERBURGH was shown in the enlargement of ST. PETER's Church. Some years later, the Lady Elfleda was moved to persuade her royal husband and other Saxon nobles to found and endow a Minster to the honour of this loved Christian friend; and to this end, in a general council of the clergy, and by the consent and assistance of the temporal power, it was resolved to remove into the middle of the city the old church of ST. PETER and ST. PAUL. By this decision we gather that this first of British churches once stood upon the site now occupied by the present Cathedral Church of Chester.

A once eminent Member of this SOCIETY (the late REV. W. H. MASSIE), in a Paper which he read before the members, said that the present Church of ST. PETER was supposed to stand on the site of the Roman *Prætorium* (the part of the camp occupied by the Roman general); for it not only filled the situation of that part of the old camp arrangement, but accounts for the non-continuation of the Bridge-street, which ceased exactly opposite the Church. MR. MASSIE gave further reasons why this should be so, and concluded the argument by stating that, "if any person should chance to be walking in the EATON-ROAD towards CHESTER after dark, he will see right before him the lights on each side of the higher end of Bridge-street, with the illuminated clock of ST. PETER's in the centre. This then was the straight Roman road in all its integrity," and there did not appear any sufficient reason for doubting that, when CHESTER was a Roman encampment, the *Prætorium* occupied the site upon which the church of ST. PETER at present stood.

At the Norman Conquest the Church bore its present name, for it is recorded in the greater Domesday Book that in the time of Robert de Rodelent, HUGH LUPUS, A.D. 1070, claimed for teinland (the land of a thane or nobleman) the ground upon which the Parish Church of ST. PETER stood. This claim was resisted, and the county proved at the trial that it was the property of the burgesses. In the year 1072 the Church received an ecclesiastical gift from Simon, son of Osborn, a bishop of Exeter.

From 1300 to 1538 the Abbots of the Church of ST. WERBURGH and the Bishops of Coventry and Lichfield were alternately the patrons of the living; and upon examining the admirable Reports of the Deputy-Keeper of the Public Records, I find information respecting three of these early Vicars: thus in 1335 Robert de Coddington, Philip le Procurator of Farndon, with others, enter into a recognizance for 24 marks with JERDAN, Parson of the Church of ST. PETER's, CHESTER.

In 1350 there is another gentlemen officiating in our Parish Church, for the record says that ROBERT DE BREDON, Parson of the Church of ST. PETER's, is one of the Executors under the will of Bartholomew de Northworthyn, and he, with others, enters into recognizances for £6 7s. 6d. This cleric is again mentioned in 1351, together with Ralph, Abbot of Basingwerk, and again in 1354, with Richard de Coton: and in 1367 Elizabeth, who was the wife of William de Mainwaring, enters into a recognizance with this Parson of ST. PETER's and others for £21 6s. 8d. Not only did this gentleman perform the duty of a Parson, but he appears by a record in 1393 to have been actually engaged during his lifetime in money-making occupations; for we are told that John Aston, son of Richard de Aston, kinsman and heir of ROBERT DE BREDON, late Parson of the Church of ST. PETER's, CHESTER, and farmer of the mills and fisheries of the Dee, gives to the King a recognizance for £13 11s. 8d., part of the arrears of the same John Aston.

In 1385 JOHN DE HALGHTON, Parson of the Church of ST. PETER's, with the Dean of the Church of St. John, receives recognizances from three other gentlemen for the tithes of the sheaves of Guilden Sutton. In 1464 there was among the names of the appointed Vicars of the Church JACOBUS STANLEY, rector of St. Mary's-on-the-Hill. I specially notice this appointment, for the reason that the name of the cleric is so well known; to show, too, that, four centuries ago, these two city churches were closely connected; and that as in the fifteenth, so in the nineteenth, century the same clergyman had alternately preached the Gospel in the two ancient churches.

In 1538 the last appointment was made by the ABBOTS of ST. WERBURGH: but now a stronger than they appeared in the land, and took away their possessions. History records that in their stead,

in 1541, DR. RANDULPH COTGREAVE was made Rector of St. PETER's, receiving his appointment from Roger Brereton, Esq., William Cotgreave, Jun., of Christleton, and Nicholas Newbold, of Dodleston, yeoman, *pro hac vice*; evidently a temporary arrangement until the new Dean and Chapter were fully installed in their allotted estates, advowsons, and revenues. In 1569 the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral were in full possession of the appointment, and they retained it until 1593; when it became the gift of Royalty, Queen Elizabeth presenting the living to William Piccocke, *alias* HICCOCK.

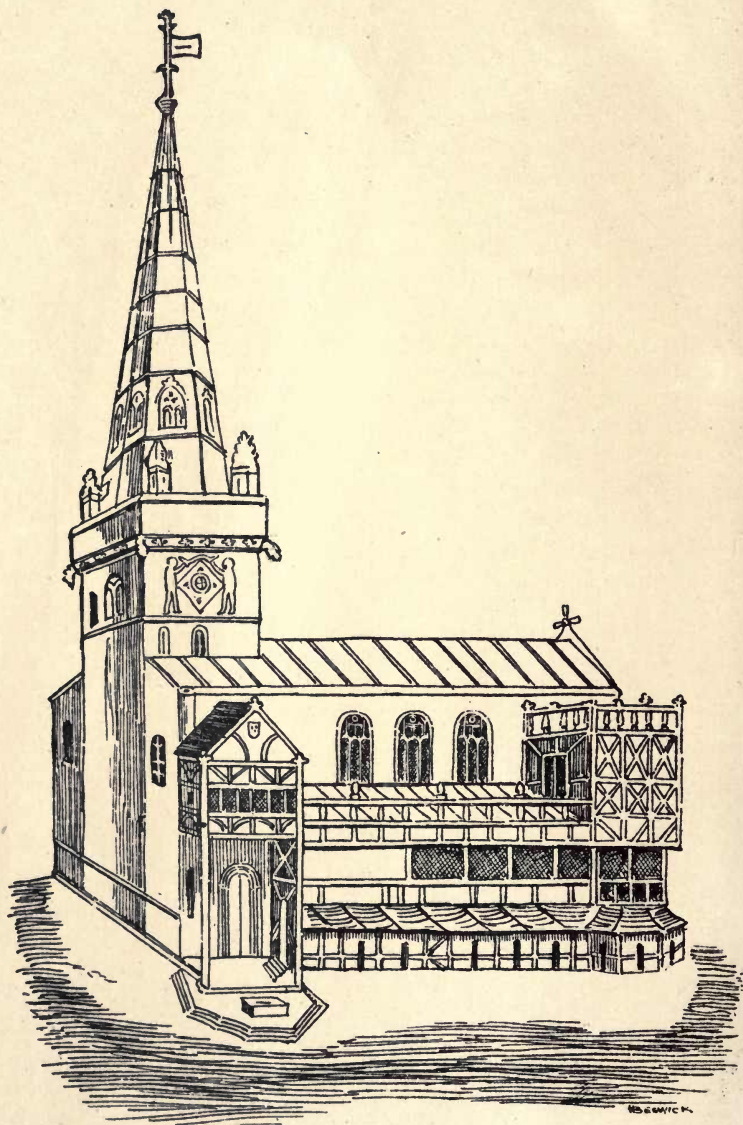
In 1624 it was in the gift of King James, and WILLIAM CASE, M.A., was the rector. *Ormerod* records that in 1627, JAMES RUTHERFORD, M.A., was presented April 12th: but from some cause or other the parishioners, upon the first day of the same year, in Vestry assembled, chose their own Minister, and paid him for the discharge of his ministerial duties. The agreement is as follows:—

“It is this day agreed betwixt me, John Glendole (Clerk) and the Parishioners of this Parish of St. Peter's, in Chester, that Mr. Glendole shall be Minister of the said Parish, to supply the place for reading of Service as formerly it hath been accustomed. In consideration whereof, the Churchwardens of the said Parish for the time being shall pay him the sum of twenty nobles, and by equal payments (that is) thirty-three shillings and fourpence every payment, the first quarter to be due the 25th day of March next. The Minister also to receive the ordinary payment due for Weddings, Churchings, Christenings and Burials. It is further agreed that if the said Mr. Glendole do preach in our Parish Church of St. Peter aforesaid, on every Sabbath day, except sickness or other occasion do hinder him, that the said Churchwardens for the time being shall pay him for his weekly preaching the sum of Twenty Pounds, to be paid likewise quarterly in equal payments, that is Five Pounds every payment, and this agreement to continue and stand good so long as Mr. Glendole doth stay with us and perform accordingly; as witness our hands.

Signed, JOHN GLENDOLE.

JOHN WILDING, }
SAMUEL ROBINSON, } Churchwardens.”

This stipend was regularly paid for sixteen years. The first entry in the accounts for 1643 records that Mr. GLENDOLE received £13 6s. 8d., balance due to him; and in the accounts of the following year these entries appear:—



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ST PETER'S CHURCH, CHESTER

South Front, shewing the Pentice, and the base of the Cross,
from Randle Holme's Drawing in the 17th Century.

"Paid Mr. SMITH, our Minister, to make up his wages, Twenty Pounds 6s.;" and again in the same year: "Paid Mr. JOHNSON, Minister, to make up twenty shillings as agreed, 2s. 10d.,"—plainly showing that, owing to the siege of the city then in progress, or from some other cause, Mr. GLENDOLE had ceased to be Minister of ST. PETER'S.

In 1612, through the generosity of a Parishioner (Mr. ROBERT AMERY), ST. PETER'S Clock was made to strike every quarter of an hour. This gentleman also gave three costly silver cups as prizes for successful races on the Roodeye on St. George's Day. At the beginning of the sports a drum was beaten and a banner displayed on ST. PETER'S steeple, by his desire; and at the conclusion of the races a sumptuous banquet was given by him in the Pentice Court, which then adjoined the Church. In January, 1627, the Mayor of the City, RICHARD DUTTON, and the Churchwardens, amicably arranged a dispute that had arisen in reference to a pew occupied by the Mayor's sister-in-law, the wife of a previous mayor: the Mayor agreeing to the terms that he as such, and his wife, should occupy a seat upon the north side of the Church upon payment of 8s. per annum, by equal payments of 4s. at Midsummer and Christmas. This arrangement, it is stated, was by general consent of the Parishioners, and for the purpose of preventing future controversy.

In February, 1627, an assessment of the Parish was made; and among the names of the parochial officers appointed, at that time, were those of men who played a conspicuous part in the parish and in the city generally. Among them we may instance Owen Jones, Christopher Blease, Thomas Cowper, and Ralph Burrowes. A memorandum in the parish books about this time shows that pew rents were in force at an early date in our English churches. For in the balance sheet of the Churchwardens setting forth all monies received by them for the use of the parish, a large proportion of income is derived respectively from *Pew Rents*, *Ley Stalls*, placing the Wief (wife), and rent of three shops under the Pentice.

An important Vestry meeting was held in April, 1630; when the parishioners unanimously resolved that the doors opening into the Churchyard (which by courtesy had been allowed to be opened) should for the future be closed, and the Churchwardens were

requested to see that the resolution of the Vestry was fully carried out. It appears, however, that for six years the Churchwardens and their successors were unable to enforce the resolution of the Vestry,—the doors remaining open this way continuing to be a source of annoyance and discomfort to the majority of the parishioners. A special Vestry meeting was accordingly held on November 6th, 1636, and the following resolution was agreed to:—

“That by reason of three private doors (all of them belonging to tippling houses), great abuse and annoyance is done to the Church and Churchyard; which latter is so abused as to become loathsome, so that no person will allow a friend to be buried there, which is to be deplored, as formerly the yard was grown over with grass and was decent and fit for burial. This churchyard in the parish is greatly needed, for the church itself is not large enough for a place of burial for all the parishioners. Not only so, but the way is used through the church and churchyard to the said three houses, to drink wine, beer, and ale on Sundays, holy days, and holidays, and divers persons go through these sacred places to drink at these tap houses. And whereas upon a former occasion these doors were made up by the Churchwardens, and have been violently opened by owners and the tenants of the tippling houses, it is agreed that this vestry empower the Churchwardens to insist upon their resolution.”

This entry in the parish book is signed by thirty-seven of the most influential parishioners, amongst them being the name of THOMAS COWPER, Alderman. This gentleman a few years later stood upon the Phoenix Tower with the unfortunate King Charles while the Battle of Rowton Moor was raging to the eastward of the City Walls. Another signature is that of WILLIAM EDWARDS, who was upon the side of the Parliament, and became a Captain in Cromwell's Army; it was he who seized the Sword and Mace of the City for the Commonwealth (but which after some years' absence were restored). He was also sent down by the Protector to be the first Mayor of the City after its capture by the Parliament.

The year in which Mr. GLENDOLE relinquished his ministry in St. PETER's Church proved an eventful year to the city. Many of her notable citizens perished. The Siege of CHESTER inflicted dreadful hardships upon the inhabitants, heavy taxes upon the clergy, nobility, and the citizens generally. The ancient city plate was melted and converted into coin; and a battle, locally known as “Rowton Moor,” was fought near Christleton, where 100 men, mostly citizens of Chester, were slain.



W. & A. Photo-lith. London.

ST PETER'S CHURCH, CHESTER
View from Churchyard

Notwithstanding these troubles, the bells of St. Peter's were joyfully and merrily ringing upon several days, by the Mayor's appointment, in honour of the King's victories, probably the defeat of Fairfax on Atherton Moor. But the rejoicings were of short duration, and at this period of our history we prefer that the curtain of time should cover the wrongdoings of the actors upon each side, and make us forgetful of their sad and tragical end.

From a Tablet in the Vestry, we learn that "Raphe Davies, and Ellis Lewys, were churchwardens from y^e 16th day of Aprell an^o 1637 to y^e 12th day Aprell an^o 1640. in which tyme; the East End of this Church and y^e South Side therof, from y^e window stooles was re-edified, the Roof allmost all new leaded, most of y^e pews were made new, all the rest amended and all y^e iles flagged."

The stormy days of the Commonwealth having passed away, the parishioners again rejoiced and made merry; and in the church accounts for 1660, were charges for ringing the bells upon the King's triumphal entry into London, upon his proclamation, his coronation, and then upon the day of thanksgiving for his Restoration to the throne of England. In the year 1662 GEORGE HALL was consecrated Bishop of Chester, and the parish church bells rang out a merry peal in commemoration of the event. The ringers were paid for their share in the transaction one shilling and sixpence. As a contrast to this expense, we may mention that at a recent occasion for rejoicing in the city, the ringers then employed received the sum of four pounds ten shillings, a curious illustration of the value of money at these distant periods.

About this time a new Font appears to have been erected. The carriage, the loading, and the getting of it into the church, cost the parish 17s. 11d., and a cover was made for it at an expense of 6s. It is probable that this very Font is now stowed away upon the north side of the Church, having been removed from its original position to make way for the present elegant Font, placed in the vestibule of the church by the generosity of a parishioner now living.

The Congregation of ST. PETER's are historically generous. A curious illustration of their quality in this respect is on record. Two centuries ago, after the "Great Fire of London," "*an additional*

collection" was made for the relief of the distress occasioned by it; which collection, it is stated, was "*not called for*," and the money was therefore placed by the Churchwardens, in their annual account, to the credit of the parishioners.

The old Church of ST. PETER had once a stately Spire, a copy of a drawing of which, by Randal Holme, preserved amongst the Harl. MSS., has already been published in the Society's *Journal*, vol. i., page 302, showing the Rector's house, the Pentice Court, and the position of the HIGH CROSS. (There is an illustration of this famous CROSS, by Randal Holme, in the Harl. MSS., 2073. The upper portion of it is still preserved at Netherleigh, and the shaft is in the grounds of General Yorke at Llangollen.) This spire being in a dangerous and dilapidated condition in 1669, was taken down; and was subsequently rebuilt, the Vestry having agreed to an assessment upon the parishioners to the extent of £110 for that purpose. Mr. Richard Francis, innkeeper, was churchwarden at this time; and during his year of office the income was insufficient to cover the expenditure of the church officers. This was for the most part accounted for by the extra liabilities in connection with the removal of the old Spire. The receipts of this year for general expenses amounted to £39 7s. 5d., and the payments £60 6s. 6d.

There are several entries amongst the items of expenditure, which illustrate very strikingly the change for the better which has taken place in the habits of society. Amongst these are—"Wine and beer for the parishioners after the meeting, when consulting about the steeple"; "wine and beer at divers times with the parson"; "wine and beer with the builder"; "beer at the discharge of a workman"; "beer and ale when the collectors met to consult when 'to goe'"; "drink allowed to workmen"; "beer and wine with Alderman Florriman of Coventry"; "beer at the auditing of accounts"; "wine to drink with Mr. Wright after sermon"; "paid for three quarts of canary, two ounces of almonds, and 'biskitts,' and for two bottles of claret to drink with the Lord Bishop when he preached at our church." Paid for horse hire and *other charges* in going to My Lord Cholmondeleys, for the mason to take down the steeple. And again, paid for *wine and beer* at Mr. Francis', upon the Ascension Day after procession.

These Ascension Processions and "May Pageants," as they were called, were very popular with our ancestors, and were entered upon with great spirit and enjoyment; all the more serious cares of life were for the time being thrown aside, and conviviality and hilarity reigned supreme. The following anecdote, related by Bishop Latimer in one of his sermons, illustrates this statement. "Coming," says he, "to a certain town upon a holiday to preach, I found the Church door fast locked. I tarried there half-an-hour or more, and at last the key was found, and one of the parish comes to me and says, 'Sir! this is a very busy day with us, *we cannot hear you*. It is "*Robin Hood's*" day!!! and the Parish has gone abroad to gather for *Robin Hood*; I pray you hinder them not!' I was fain therefore to give place to *Robin Hood*. I thought *my rochet* would have been regarded, but not so; it had to yield to *Robin Hood* and his merry men!" This quotation is alluded to by Mr. HICKLIN in a paper entitled "May-day Sports and National Recreations," vol i., page 335 of the *Journal* of this SOCIETY.

Upon the completion of the rebuilding of the Spire of the Church in 1676, and the final payment of all liabilities thereupon, the ecclesiastical affairs of the parish appear to have excited very little attention. There are, notwithstanding, interesting and curious entries made in the Parish Book of Record.

In July, 1672, an inventory was made of goods belonging to the Church. The flagons, the cups, and the plates for the Communion Service are described to be of *pewter*; the carpet is said to be of "Turkey work;" the reading-desk and the pulpit had a cloth and a cushion of a green colour. A *book* in a frame is in the the chancel, and a long white pole for the use of the vergers.

Just two centuries ago, the Churchwardens were required to pay the sum of eightpence for the purpose of issuing a proclamation, requiring the strict observance of the day of the Martyrdom of King Charles I. It surely is a matter of congratulation that in our day this fertile means of keeping alive an unhappy circumstance has been abolished by general consent!

About this time the numerous extra fees for ringing the bells appear at length to have become burdensome to the parish, and at a Vestry-meeting it was unanimously ordered "That the Church-

wardens, for the future, shall not suffer the bells to be rung for any new-made freemen or freeman; unless he or they that would have them rung first pay unto the Churchwardens for the time being, for the use of the Parish, the sum of One Shilling." But, directly after this resolution was passed, the old Church bells are merrily ringing, and the ringers receiving an extra fee upon the occasion of the return of the Lord Bishop from London, and his entrance into the city. This Lord Bishop was none other than Doctor JOHN PEARSON, one of the Commissioners at the Savoy Conference appointed for the revision of the Liturgy, and to whose memory a handsome monument has recently been erected in the Cathedral Church of our city.

In the year 1682, during the churchwardenship of Messrs. Peter Bennet and William Darwell, there is in the Parish accounts a credit entry of six shillings and eightpence, for a "Ley Stall" in the body of the church for Mrs. Phillips. We specially notice this memorandum, because the deceased lady was the mother of Mrs. SIBEL PHILLIPS, "Spinster," who at her death bequeathed the sum of £40 for the use of the poor of the parish of ST. PETER's, and who also, during her lifetime, gave to our Parish Church a portion of the Silver Communion Plate now in constant use with us.

In 1688 the parish record of church officers mentioned that Mr. Benjamin Critchley and Mr. Thomas Chapman were elected churchwardens, and Mr. Richard Adams and Mr. Ralph Hocknell were appointed collectors or sidesmen. This is the first time that "sidesmen" were mentioned in the church register, these officers being called collectors only. It appears to have been their duty to collect the monies assessed for the relief of the poor, and to pay it over to the churchwardens, who in their turn became the distributors of it to any who were in need. Various entries occurred about this date for monies received as fines for profane swearing. The largest fine mentioned was 35s., which was distributed by the churchwardens among the poor of the parish.

In 1689 we have a curious record of a memorial to the Lord Bishop of the Diocese, praying him to appoint a minister as a successor to the Rev. WILLIAM THOMPSON; and also recommending to him a fit and proper person for the sacred office. This memorial



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ST PETER'S CHURCH, CHESTER
Tower Arch



is influentially and numerously signed. It will be in the remembrance of many of the Parishioners that a very similar memorial was presented by deputation to the late Bishop GRAHAM, some twenty years ago; and that the Bishop inquired of the leader of the deputation if he, and the Parishioners acting with him, were aware that the selection of the new Rector was placed in his (the Bishop's) hands? "Certainly we are! your Lordship," was the reply; "but we feel that by coming to you with this request we have performed our duty." The Bishop replied "He was not quite sure but that the deputation had exceeded their duty!" and they withdrew.

A Society was next formed in the city for "the reformation of manners," and a monthly Friday Lecture was set up at St. PETER's to promote this good design. The celebrated Nonconformist, MATTHEW HENRY, appeared to have been a constant attendant upon these Lectures, and many entries in his diary regarding them were very interesting. The Bishop of the Diocese was the first preacher. Then followed Dr. FOGG, the Dean; and Mr. HENRY notes respecting this service:

"I bless God for this sermon; and as I have in my heart forgiven, so will I endeavour to forget, all that he (the Dean) has said against Dissenters, and against me in particular. Such preaching against sin, and such endeavours to suppress it, will contribute as much as anything to heal differences among those who fear God."

The plain speaking and denunciation of all immorality stirred up strife, and many began openly to deride and oppose, and formed parties to act in opposition. The enemies of the movement at last prevailed, and upon the 5th September, 1701, the Dean preached the concluding sermon.

On the 29th November, 1708, it was agreed that the five Bells then in the steeple of the Church should be new cast, and a new bell added to them. About fifty-three years afterwards the Spire of the Church was again repaired, and in 1718 an altar-piece of wood, which cost £34, was placed in the church. It was removed in 1849, when the present altar screen was erected.

At a Vestry Meeting in 1803 it was unanimously agreed, as the Corporation was discussing the necessity of the removal of the old Pentice Court; that it would be a great improvement, in case the Pentice Court was taken down, to remove the old building over the

church steps, known as the Rectory House, belonging to the parish of St. PETER's. A subscription list, amounting to £158 6s. 6d., was set on foot, while a double church rate produced £71 5s. 9d.: the materials of the old building realized £20 5s., and the Rectory House of St. PETER's became a thing of the past. In 1811 the steeple of the Church was again in a dilapidated and dangerous condition, and was once more repaired.

In 1819 the walls of the church were whitewashed, the Vestry was altered, and a proper place made to keep the wine for the use of the Sacrament. In 1820 the loyal parishioners put on mourning for George III.: the Churchwardens were authorized to have the pulpit covered with black cloth as a token of respect to his memory, 10s. being allowed for the tolling of the bell.

Another extra expense was also incurred by the payment of the ringers at the proclamation of George IV.; while, just a year later, the ringers received another gratuity because the Catholic Emancipation Bill was rejected in the House of Commons. Again, at the coronation of the King, laurels, colours, and ringing cost the parish £2 3s. 0d.

In this year, 1820, the CATHEDRAL was undergoing restoration, and a collection was made in St. PETER's, on its behalf. The amount stood the third upon the list of collections received from the various parishes.

For several years past there had been complaints respecting the Churchyard and the burials in the Church; and in 1826 the parishioners were in earnest to provide a suitable cemetery for the parish, and desired, at the suggestion of the Bishop, to unite with the parishes of St. Olave and St. Michael conjointly to attain their object. A committee was formed, and presently recommended the purchase of the premises lately occupied by Mr. Orred, situate in the parish of St. John the Baptist, offered for sale; then it was also proposed that the money requisite for purchasing, preparing, consecrating, and rendering the same fit for a Cemetery, be borrowed under the direction of the Lord Bishop from such society in London as he might think most proper. This recommendation to purchase land for a Cemetery appeared to have been disregarded and abandoned. In 1833, the necessity of a new burial ground was



ST PETER'S CHURCH . CHESTER
Mural Painting in Porch
Angels appearing to the Shepherds &c

again discussed, and a letter was read from the Rev. HENRY RAIKES, the Chancellor of the Diocese, in which he directed attention to the subject without loss of time. The question was not finally settled till the formation of a private company in 1850.

In 1849 a new gallery was erected on the south side of the church; the pews were lowered, and a new altar screen placed at the east end. During the process of cleaning, an ancient "FRESCO" was discovered upon one of the pillars opposite the Font in the vestibule of the church.

The following description of it, which has been corroborated by high authority, is from the friendly pen of Mr. HARRY BESWICK, of this city, who has supplied the drawings and details in illustration of the Paper :—

"This Fresco is painted upon the south-east pier of the Tower, and faces the principal entrance door of the Church. In this pier there is a niche, with ogee and cusped head originally having crocketed hood mold; but no trace of the carving now remains. A carved stone figure of the Virgin and Child evidently stood in the niche, the general outline of which is at present distinguishable, the stone at the back of the niche having been slightly hollowed out to receive the figure.

"It is around this niche that the mediæval artist has painted the Fresco, and in it he has indicated some of the events that took place at the Birth of our SAVIOUR.

"Over the niche is a Scroll, supported by an Angel, on which the words "Gloria in excelsis Deo!" were once to be clearly deciphered, but which are now almost obliterated; and in the spandrels formed by the head of the niche are painted the timbers of a roof, through which the "Star" may be seen shining—the design thus being to represent the Stable at Bethlehem, in which the Virgin is presenting the CHILD for the Adoration of the Shepherds.

"Upon the right hand we have a picture, showing the Angel of the Lord appearing in the heavens, and announcing to the Shepherds the 'glad tidings of great joy;' and while their flocks are feeding upon the hill sides, the Shepherds are shown wending their way to the lowly stable, one of them evidently being struck with amazement at the glorious sight that suddenly bursts upon him.

"The painting immediately on the left of the niche is partly obliterated; but we may safely conjecture that it has represented the visit of the Magi, coming from Jerusalem to Bethlehem after their interview with Herod; as an important city is pictured in the background, with a hill covered with trees in the mid-distance, but the figures in the foreground are unfortunately indistinguishable.

"Another scene remains for description; but this foreshadows the Crucifixion of our SAVIOUR. On the extreme left of the Fresco a view of Calvary is shown."

upon which are three trees, representing the three Crosses, the centre one being much larger and more important than the others ; and over these trees are shown three birds flying away, which evidently represent the departing spirits of our SAVIOUR and the crucified thieves. Note the direction taken by the birds : two fly in one direction, while the remaining one—the impenitent thief—takes the opposite course !

“This interesting Fresco measures 5 feet by 3 feet, and is well worthy of careful preservation.”

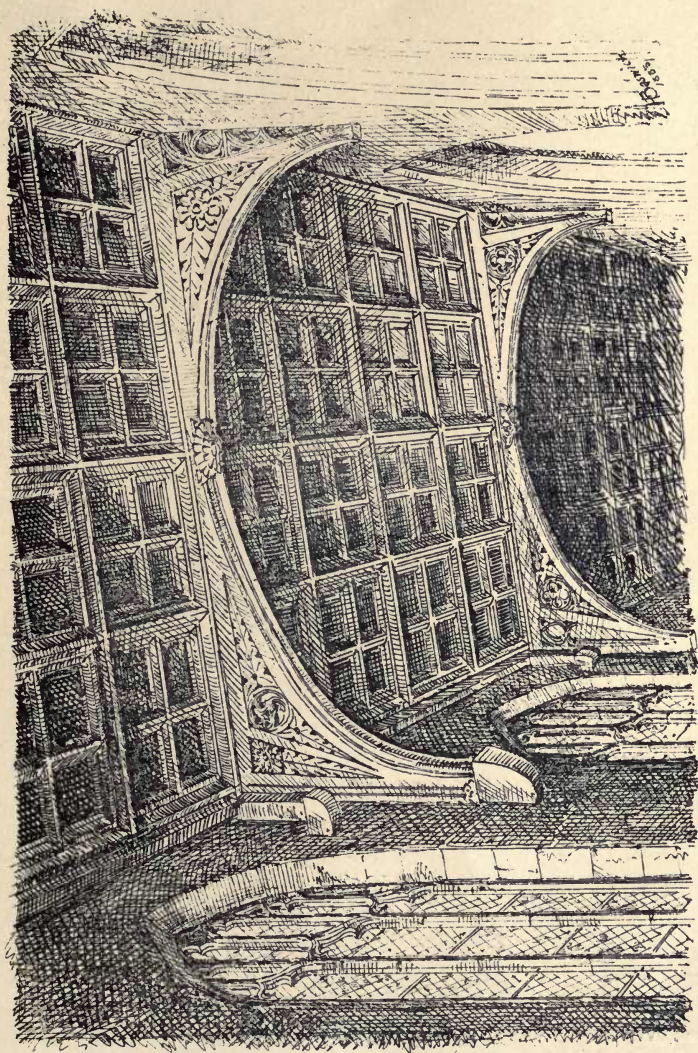
With reference to the interior of the Roof of the North Aisle, Mr. BESWICK says :—

“That portion of the Roof over the West End of the North Aisle is well worthy of attention, and is a good specimen of an open timber roof of the Perpendicular period.

“The Roof is formed of strong framed and moulded beams, with smaller beams framed in between to form panels, and the whole covered with boarding to receive lead. The Roof is supported at intervals by framed principals having arched soffits, the spandrels being filled in with tracery and carved panels, and the centre of the arch ornamented with a carved boss. These principals at one time appear to have been longer, as one end has been cut off to make them fit the span of the roof, thus showing that they were originally intended to be fixed in some other position ; but where, remains a matter for conjecture.”

In 1817 Sunday Evening Lectures were instituted, and were favourably regarded by all classes of Cestrians. The Vestry decided that the church rate should not be in any respect chargeable with the expenses incurred on account of these Lectures, but that they should be conducted by a committee to be chosen on the first Monday in every year.

CHESTER was one of the first provincial cities that discarded the old-fashioned oil lamps, and adopted the newly-introduced gas lights ; and after the evening services at St. PETER's had been held nine months, a Vestry Meeting was held on the 14th September, 1818, when it was unanimously agreed that the Church should be at once lighted with gas for the Evening Lectures. On Sunday evening, October 25th, the church was lighted with gas for the first time, and the Dean preached to a congregation which crowded the building to inconvenience. The Lord Bishop of the Diocese and several of the clergy of the Cathedral were present, and also Lord Kenyon. All the aisles and the approaches to the church were crowded, and great numbers attempted in vain to gain admittance. A collection was made in aid of defraying the expense of lighting the church with gas, and a sum of £76 was received.



ST. PETER'S CHURCH, CHESTER
Roof of North Aisle



The Church was re-opened on Friday, August 31st, 1849, with two full choral services, at which Mr. Gunton and the Cathedral Choir very kindly gave their efficient aid.

Ten years after this the Rev. F. FORDE resigned his living, and he was, after the lapse of some months, succeeded in 1856 by the Rev. JOHN WATSON. He in his turn ceased to be Rector of ST. PETER'S. In 1861, by a very singular coincidence, the Rev. F. FORDE was again instituted as the Rector of ST. PETER'S. In 1874, he again resigned the living to become the Chaplain of St. John's Hospital, and was succeeded by the present Rector, the Rev. J. H. ACHESON.

It remains now to record a few facts about the CHARITIES of the church. The LEGACIES at present belonging to the parish are as follows:—

“Two-thirds of the pew rents of the north gallery; Crompton's legacy of £29, accruing from rent of land in Kinnerton. The parish of Dodleston is entitled to half of this legacy, so that the poor residents of St. Peter's parish receive annually in coal, clothing, and provisions, the sum of £14 10s.

Brereton's legacy of £2 3s. 4d., received from the City Treasurer upon the 23rd April in each year. The rector is entitled to £1 13s. 4d., and the poor receive 10s.

Cowper's legacy, paid by the Duke of Westminster, being a rent charge upon the Talbot Inn, now forming part of the Grosvenor Hotel. The gift provides one loaf each to twelve poor persons who have regularly attended Divine Service in St. Peter's Church on the Lord's Day.

Offley's legacy, payable at Easter, is an annual gift of £1 5s. to the rector, and £3 15s. equally divided between the poor of the parishes of St. Peter, St. Oswald, St. John, and St. Michael.

Bennett's legacy of £1 12s., annually received at Christmas for the benefit of the poor of the parish. It is a rent charge upon land belonging to the Duke of Westminster at Whitby.

Witter's legacy of £1 per annum is also a rent charge upon property in Bridge Street Row West, and is paid by Mr. Wakefield.

Mrs. Sibel Phillips, spinster, left £20 for a flagon and cup for the Communion Service; these are still the property of the parishioners, and are in the care of the churchwardens.”

There is a well-founded supposition, that the north gallery was erected and paid for by monies left for charitable uses; and there has always been in force, since its erection, a charge of two-thirds on the income derived from the letting of the pews,—and the money

obtained by this charge is appropriated to the relief of the poor of the parish. From the records of the Church it has been ascertained that in October, 1730, the minister, churchwardens, and parishioners unanimously agreed to pay four per cent interest for the several charitable legacies left to the poor of the parish since 1672 (and which legacies had been appropriated as before-mentioned). The payments were to be made quarterly, and distributed by the churchwardens and their successors for ever. The following is a list of the Charities thus appropriated:—

William Darwell, of the city of Chester, glover, left to the poor of St. Peter's parish £40, the interest of the sum to be given to them yearly for ever, being poor housekeepers.

Mr. Francis Finchett, late of the city of Chester, apothecary, by his last will gave to the poor of this Parish the sum of £5 to be put forth at interest, and the interest to be yearly paid for ever to the poor upon every Good Friday.

Mrs. Helena Salmon, of this city, by her last will left £10, the use of it to be paid to the poorest of this Parish, at the direction of the Churchwardens for the time being, upon every 10th day of April annually for ever.

Mr. Peter Cotton, attorney, left £10, the interest thereof to be distributed by the Minister and Churchwardens upon every Christmas Day, amongst twenty poor house keepers of this Parish. Joseph Massey, Jno. Wrench, Churchwardens.

Mr. Isaac Hollins, late of Wolverhampton, by his last will left the sum of £10, the interest to be paid to the poor of this Parish annually for ever.

Mr. Timothy Dean, by his last will left the sum of £25, the interest to be paid to the poor of this Parish annually for ever.

Mr. John Cowles, of the city of Chester, innholder, by his last will and testament left to this Parish of St. Peter's the sum of £20, to be set forth to poor and indigent widows, the interest to be distributed amongst such at the direction of the Churchwardens, and to none other poor.

Mrs. Margaret Cowles, relict of the said John Cowles, did bequeath the sum of £10 to be set forth; the interest to be distributed yearly on St. Thomas's Day, amongst the poor widows in this Parish of St. Peter's, such as do not actually go abroad to beg relief.

Mrs. Ann Burroughs, widow, of the city of Chester, left to the poor of St. Peter's Parish £5, the interest of the said sum to be paid them yearly at Christmas for ever.

Mr. Nathaniel Bradburn, of the city of Chester, gent., gave, on January 27th, 1698, to the poor of Saint Peter's Parish the sum of £5, to be put out by the Minister and Churchwardens, the interest to be paid every Ascension Day, for ever.

Mrs. Sidney Whitley of this city, spinster, left £20, the interest thereof to twelve poor women housekeepers of this Parish, to be distributed by the Minister and Churchwardens every half year, viz., at Lady Day and Michaelmas Day, for ever.

Mrs. Sibel Phillips, spinster, left £40 to the poor, the interest thereof to be every year distributed by the Minister and Churchwardens.

These last twelve Legacies, given by charitable people for the relief of the poor, exactly correspond in amount, viz., £200, to the sum mentioned as being appropriated to the erection of the North Gallery.

Unfortunately there are other Bequests which are irrecoverably lost. The statements regarding them, as recorded in the Vestry Books, are as follows:—

Matthew Anderton, of this city, gentleman, who died the 7th of November, 1693, left 30s. per annum for ever to six poor persons, to be given the first Sunday in every month, after the manner as twelve others have by Mr. Offley's last will and testament; the clerk and sexton 6d. monthly. Matthew Anderton was the Sheriff of Chester in 1650, and Mayor of the city in 1680.

John Vernon, Esq., merchant of the Staple, citizen of London, born in this city, left to the Minister of St. Peter's, for preaching on Sunday in the afternoon, £1 13s. 4d. yearly for ever, payable by the Treasurers of the city

Mr. Partington left £10, the interest to be paid by the Churchwardens of St. Peter's to their poor yearly for ever.

Thomas Hallwood, of this city, yeoman, by his last will and testament on August 8th, 1672, left to the poor of St. Peter's Parish £30, the interest, 30 shillings, payable every Candlemas Day for ever. The Churchwardens and Overseers to take account of it.

Samuel Bucke, Doctor of Physic, born in this Parish, by his last will and testament bearing date November 14th, 1674, left to the poor of St. Peter's Parish £60, the interest thereof to be received by the Churchwardens, and by them to be paid yearly to the poor of the said Parish for ever.

There are also in the possession of the Churchwardens several interesting documents written upon parchment, relating to some of these aforesaid legacies given to the parish of St. Peter. One is dated 1574, Cowper's is dated 1695; a lease of the property at Kinnerton to Mr. Arthur Walley, signed by himself, Henry Crompton, and Valentine Shorte. This lease is dated June 2nd, 1658, There is also another legacy given by William Wright and Daniel Greatbache, attested to on behalf of Daniel Greatbache by Valentine Gamul, Charles Ravenscroft, George Bulkeley; on behalf of William Wright, by George Bulkeley, Charles Ravenscroft, Randle Bennett. There is, too, a joint legacy signed by Thos. Cowper and John Aldersey. It is ordered that it may be distributed upon St. Michael's Day and the day of Annunciation. Witnessed by Ralph Burroughs, Sampson Shelley, Thomas Halliwell.

In an inventory of the "things now found belonging to the Church," which is dated July 22nd, 1672, there is enumerated—"a bond for Mr Partington's legacy—a copy of Thomas Hallwood's legacy to ye poore of St. Peter's Parish, being ye interest of £30, which is 30s. per annum. Ye said copy is kept in ye black box. A copy of Mr. Samuel Bucke's will, wherein is given to ye poore of St. Peter's Parish ye interest of £60, which is £3 12s 0d per annum. Ye said will is kept in ye black box."

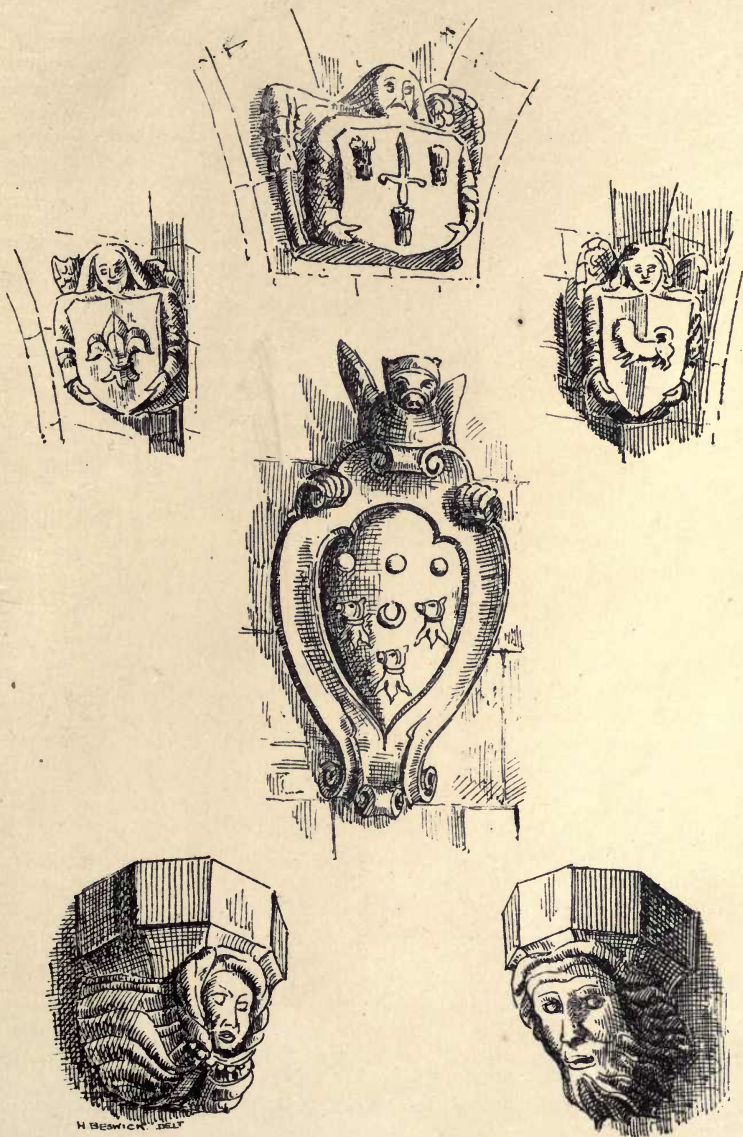
These Charitable bequests remind us that all true benevolence is a part of our common humanity and also of our Christianity. Benevolence often arises from sympathy, just as "iron sharpens iron." So is a man made sympathetic by contact with suffering and want. Our forefathers (under a less favoured system of Poor Law relief), were daily brought face to face with the ills their poorer brethren suffered: and hence, as it appears, they were prompted when old, or ill, or dying, to bequeath a task to their executors and friends, which, if with their own hands they had performed when living, would have been to them a source of comfort and of joy. It oftentimes too partook of the nature of a free-will offering of love to Christ, performed whilst the donor of the gift was yet alive. It would be well for all to remember that although this almsgiving is by the Gospel enforced upon all Christian people, it is no new law, but a repetition and developement of the old.

The following extract from page 375 and 376 of the Report of the Commissioners sent to CHESTER to enquire into the Charities of the City, and some of which Charities are connected with St. PETER's Church are very interesting, and will not be out of place here.

BRERETON'S LEGACY.

John Brereton, by his will bearing date the eighth day of August, 1631, gave and devised his Close by Flookersbrook, called 'Flookersbrook Field,' to his loving wife for her natural life; she paying yearly, out of the rents, issues, and profits thereof, the sum of £5, which he willed and devised to be paid, and distributed, in manner and form following, that is to say, to

| | | | | |
|--|-----|-----|-----|------|
| 20 poor persons of St John's Parish | ... | ... | ... | 20s. |
| 20 poor persons of the Parish of Barrow | ... | ... | ... | 20s. |
| 10 poor persons of St. Werburgh's Parish | ... | ... | ... | 10s. |
| 10 poor persons of Trinity Parish | ... | ... | ... | 10s. |
| 10 poor persons of ST. PETER's Parish | ... | ... | ... | 10s. |
| 10 poor persons of St. Mary's Parish | ... | ... | ... | 10s. |
| 5 poor persons of St Michael's Parish | ... | ... | ... | 5s. |
| 5 poor persons of St Bridget's Parish | ... | ... | ... | 5s. |
| 10 poor persons of the Parish of Tarvin | ... | ... | ... | 10s. |



ST PETER'S CHURCH, CHESTER
 Details of Corbels &c

which said sums were to be paid yearly to the several Churchwardens of the said Parishes, who at such times and days as they with the advice of the several Parsons or Curates of the said parishes should yearly and every year for ever, distribute and pay upon every Friday next after St. George's Day, the said several sums to the said poor people, according to his intent and meaning therein. And, after the decease of his said wife, he further gave and devised his Close aforesaid, called the 'Flookersbrook Field,' unto the Mayor and Citizens of Chester and their successors for ever; upon *trust and confidence* that they should yearly well and truly pay and satisfy the said sum of £5, in such manner and form as he devised the same to be paid by his wife. He also further willed and devised that all the rest and residue of the rents and profits of the said Close, over and besides the sum of £5 formerly devised, should yearly and every year be duly paid and satisfied by the said Mayor and Citizens, for and toward the Maintenance and Exhibition of the 'Friday Lecture' at *St. Peter's Church* within the same City; the same to be yearly paid to the Lecturer there for the *time being*, at and upon every Friday next following St. George's Day.

Unfortunately for the Lecturer of ST. PETER'S Church, "*the trust and confidence*" were misplaced!

There is no Evidence to shew the quantity of the Close, nor could the Commissioners in their endeavours to trace it, find any document which set forth the field and its abutments. The field has been alienated by the Corporation; and it is presumed that the fee farm rent, reserved by the following instrument, was the value of the Close at that period.

By Indenture dated March 26th, 1712, the Mayor and Citizens of Chester,—in consideration of the surrender of a former lease of the Field or Parcel of Land thereafter mentioned, for three lives and 21 years after, as of the sum of £8 fine; and in consideration of the yearly rent hereafter mentioned,—granted, bargained, sold, refeofed and to perpetual fee-farm betook unto John Clayton of Hoole, in the County of Chester, Gardener,—all that field, pasture, or parcel of land with its appurtenances, situate lying and being near Hoole Rake, in the County of Chester, commonly called and known by the name of 'Flookersbrook Field,' late in the tenure or holding of Catherine Oulton, widow, and then in the possession or occupation of the said John Clayton; together with all ways, &c., to hold unto the said John Clayton, his heirs and assigns, to the use and behoof of the said John Clayton, his heirs and assigns for ever, under the clear yearly rent of £6 13s. 4d. payable at Midsummer, or quarterly by equal portions.

At an Assembly holden on the 20th day of June, in the 6th year of William and Mary, it was ordered that Mr. PETER NEWTON, Rector of ST. PETER'S parish within this city, should have and receive yearly during the pleasure of the House, the sum of 5 nobles (which sum was formerly given by this House to Mr. WILLIAM THOMPSON, late Parson of the said Parish) yearly out of Mr. BEEBETON'S Legacy, the first payment whereof to begin and be made upon St. George's Day then next.

The following is an extract from what is stated to be the evidence of the Town Clerk:—

“John Brereton’s legacy was a sum of £6 13s. 4d., made payable annually to charitable objects, out of a Close at Flookersbrook, which was devised in 1681 to the Mayor and Citizens of Chester for that purpose. The only trace of the Corporate property in this Close during living memory has been (what is here termed) a chief rent issuing out of it, of the precise amount of £6 13s. 4d. This was sold a few years since by the Corporation, with several other chief rents, upon the usual terms of 20 years’ purchase, in order to raise money to build the new markets (the present Shambles, about 1828). This sum of £6 13s. 4d. is distributed yearly by the person appointed for this purpose by the Corporation from their funds. £1 13s. 4d. is given to the rector of St. Peter’s, instead of what ought to have now been a much larger residue from the increased value of the lands near this city,—that is to say, if the Lecturer of former times and the Rector of the present day are identical. The remaining £5 is given according to the directions contained in the Will, viz., to the several churchwardens, about St. George’s Day. This is why the money is received in some of the parishes by the name of “St. George’s Money.” This “Flookersbrook Field” is now called “BISHOP’S FIELDS,” and was recently owned by the late Mr. Faulkner; and when any portion of it is sold it is described in the title deeds as ‘Flookersbrook Field.’”

Again, upon page 389 of the same record, occurs the following, in reference to another Legacy given to the Parish of St. PETER’S:

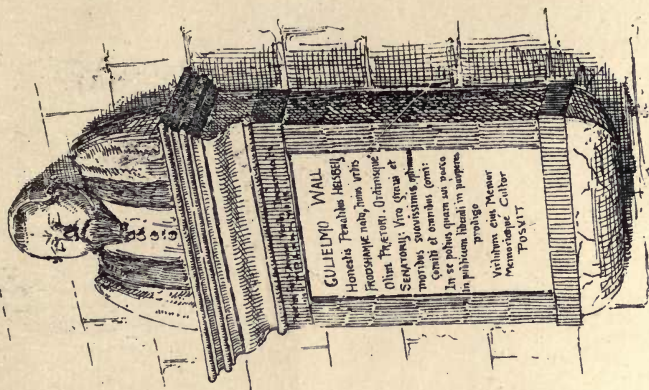
Alderman Henry Bennett, by will bearing date February 17th, 1708, left the sum of £25, the interest thereof to be paid by his executors to twelve poor widows of St. Peter’s Parish every Christmas. There is a sum of £1 12s. per annum, issuing from lands at Whitby, in the county of Chester, the property of the Marquess of Westminster. It is paid to the Churchwardens and distributed on Christmas Day, in sums of 2s. 8d. each to twelve poor widows. It is conjectured that Alderman Bennett’s Legacy was never paid over to the Parish of St. Peter, but remained as a charge upon the real estate of the family, paying more than the usual interest. The estate at Whitby, now the property of the Marquess of Westminster, formerly belonged to Alderman Bennett, and there is no question that the annual payment above-mentioned originated in the bequest of £25, as recorded in the Parish Church Books.

MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS.

The BURIAL REGISTERS of this Parish Church date back to 1559, and they appear to have been kept with regularity and neatness. Within the walls of the Church lie buried those who had come and gone from the place of the holy, and are now forgotten in the city, where they individually acted their little part in the drama of life; and the slight knowledge we have of



Monument to Edward Bradshaw



Monument to William Wall

ST. PETER'S CHURCH, CHESTER.

them is gathered from the Inscriptions kind and loving friends have placed upon their monumental tablets. Reflecting upon these records, we are constrained to quote the words of the Preacher, and to forcibly realise their applicability and truthfulness, viz. :—
 “That the dead which are already dead, are more *praised*, than the *living* which are *yet alive*.”

The MONUMENTS in St. PETER's Church are not numerous, but are of great interest; many of them are mentioned, and some given in full, in the 2nd Vol. of HEMINGWAY's *History of Chester*, pp. 89-90.

There is upon the North-east wall a marble shield, without inscription, bearing the charge of “three muzzled bears' heads erased *gules*, and a crescent.” This monument, I conjecture, belongs to the Breretons, an old Cheshire family, who were connected with the Parish of St. Peter's, and whose crest is a muzzled bear out of a ducal coronet, but this latter emblem is wanting in the shield. It has also been suggested that it might possibly belong to Christopher Barker, Garter King of Arms in the 16th century. *

Adjoining this shield is a marble monument decorated with a bust of GULIELMUS WALL. This gentleman was Sheriff of the City in 1571, and Mayor in 1586. The inscription is in Latin, which, roughly translated, says “he died in the year of the Incarnate Word 1588. He was a magistrate; was of honest parentage, from Helsby, Frodsham; a member of the Common Council; a grave man, of polite manners; a companion of the best; a friend of all, he was himself frugal; but he was liberal in public matters,—prodigal to the poor. An admirer placed this monument in memory of his many virtues.”

Upon the same East wall is also placed a monument to a native and physician of Chester (Dr. Jonathan Cotgreave), a great benefactor to the Chester Charities. He lies buried in the Eastern aisle.

Upon the South side of the Church a marble monument is erected to the memory of Alderman Humphrey Page. He was Sheriff in 1700, filled the civic chair in 1707, and died April 21st, 1711, aged 54.

* The Editor thinks this so-called Brereton shield really belongs to the adjoining monument to WILLIAM WALL, whose arms were, heraldically described, “*argent*, three bears' heads erased *gules*, muzzled *or*; in chief as many pellets, a crescent *azure* in the fess-point for difference.”

Upon the same side is a brass tablet to the memory of four children of Roger Massey, which tells us as to the whereabouts of the vault. A versified inscription to one of them runs as follows:—

“Beneath a sleeping infant lies,
To earth whose ashes lent,
More glorious shall hereafter rise,
Though not more innocent.
When the Archangel’s trump shall blow,
And souls and bodies join,
What crowds will wish their lives below
Had been as short as thine!”

Alongside of this tablet is a Monument of alabaster erected “to the memory of EDWARD BRADSHAW, Esq., who by his first wife Susannah, daughter and heir of Christopher Blease, of this City, Alderman, had twelve children; and by his second wife Mary, relict of the celebrated Mr. Christopher Love, had seven children. He was exemplary for his piety and charity when living; and departed this life the 31st October, 1671, in the 67th year of his age, having five of his children yet alive. To continue whose memory, his son and heir, Sir James Bradshaw, of Risby, in the East rideing of the county of York, has erected this monument.”

Edward Bradshaw was Sheriff in 1636, and Mayor of the City in 1647, and again in 1653. It is embellished at the top with the figures of three sleeping angels, and at the foot with the emblem of our mortality, “a skull.”

Upon the West wall is a marble Monument (which was originally placed upon a pillar in the middle aisle) to the memory of “Mrs. Ursula Bradshaw, youngest daughter of Sir James Bradshaw, Kt., and of his lady, who was sole daughter and heir of Edward Ellerker, of Risby, in the County of York, Esquire, who died at Chester, 18th September, 1731, *ætat.* 43; and desiring to be buried near her grandfather, her affectionate brother, Ellerker Bradshaw,” in memory of her many virtues, erected this monument.

In the Gallery, fixed upon the North wall, is a monument in memory of Henry Bennett, Esquire, of this City. It is related that he was

“A Magistrate who ruled with dignity and justice; a Merchant who improved and extended its commerce; a lover of his country and a friend of mankind; a servant of God, zealous, with knowledge. He died Nov. 26, 1747.”

During the alterations of the Church in 1847 some of the monuments were removed from their original position; and in the Vestry there is a wooden tablet to the memory of THOMAS COWPER. This is, historically, and from a local point of view, one of the most interesting relics remaining in the Church. It is inscribed as follows :—

“ Here lyeth the bodyes of THOMAS COWPER, of y’s citty, esquier, alderman and justice of peace, maior 1641. He died 19th day of July, 1671, aged 76 yeares; and alsoe of CATHERINE, his wife, daughter of Thomas Throppe, of the saide citty of Chester, alderman and justice of peace. She died 29th of May, 1672, aged 72 yeares. They had i sue five son’es and two daughters, of which three sons and one daughter survived them.”

The good Citizen and Mayor thus modestly commemorated was none other than he “who put down the drum, and beat the drummer,” on that day when the first public mark of disaffection showed itself in the streets of Chester; and it was he, too, who stood with King Charles on the top of the Phoenix Tower, to witness the disastrous fight upon Rowton Moor, on September 27th, 1645.

Upon the North wall there is a monument of white and grey marble to the memory of a Shrewsbury School-boy. The inscription is written in Latin by the late Dr. Butler, Head-Master of the School. Alongside is a monument to the memory of Thomas Cowper. The inscription, which is in Latin, says :—

Whosoever thou art
who readest this, know that this is

THOMAS COWPER,

a citizen of CHESTER, who, while he lived, lived a good
citizen, a careful father of his family,

Useful to his friends, kind to his kinsfolk, at the same time temperate,
just, pious, merciful.

And (what I would that thou shouldst also know) for the two sons
whom he left,—both while he lived, & at his death,—

He made the best provision: the eldest of whom, therefore, caused this
marble which thou see’st to be set up, as a monument of his filial love.

He died on the 27th day of November, in the year 1695,

Aged 71 years.

In the South Aisle is an elegant monumental brass. The tablet which could give any information regarding it has been removed. It had been my earnest wish to substantiate a theory that this

effigy represented Mr. Robert Townshend, a Sheriff of the City 200 years ago, who died during his year of office, and was buried in the vault over which the brass is now placed. I regret, however, for many reasons, that I am compelled to abandon this theory; as several gentlemen who are authorities on brasses and all antiquarian research, and amongst them Augustus W. Franks, Esq., Director of the Society of Antiquaries, and Keeper of the Mediæval Collection of the British Museum, have pronounced the brass to represent a lawyer of the time of Henry V. of a very rare type.

Upon a brass tablet at the East end of the Church is the following inscription:—

“Here lyeth the body of MARTHA, wife of PETER BENNETT, Alderman, of this City;—

Reader, if thou hast a tear,
Thou cans't not choose but shed it here;
Here lyes modesty, meekness, and zeal,
Goodness, piety, and to tell
Her worth at once, she that had shewn
All virtues that her sex could own.
Nor would my praise too lavish be,
Lest her dust blush, for so would she.

Obit. xi. January, Anno Domini 1688.” *

There are two marble monuments at the West end of the Church in memory of the Grandson, and of three of the Great-grandchildren of the celebrated Nonconformist Divine, PHILIP HENRY. These tablets testify to the true nobility and worth of those descendants of the Puritan preacher:—

“In memory of Dr. THOMAS TYLSTON, a learned and able physician of this town. He was born on Lady Day, 1688, and died January 9th, 1746. Also ABIGAIL, his wife, January 14th, 1741.

Also, Dr. JOHN TYLSTON, their son, who, whether as a physician or a man, had no superior. His skill in medicine was not exceeded but by his benevolence, which had no bounds. He willingly attests this, who had full experience of both. He was born August 22nd, 1725, and died universally lamented June 22nd, 1764.

CATHERINE, daughter of Dr. THOMAS TYLSTON, whose many amiable qualities are attested to by the sincere sorrow of many surviving friends. She died February 6th, 1769.

* The aforesaid Peter Bennett was Churchwarden in 1682.



ST PETER'S CHURCH, CHESTER.
Brass in floor of South Aisle.

Few examples can better instruct us how low a value is put in the eye of Providence on a continuance in mortal life, and that the reward of virtue is immortality."

The second tablet records:—

"Here lies MARY TILSTON, the last surviving daughter of THOMAS TYLSTON, M.D. She died May 4th, 1797, aged 80, having sustained through life the respectable character which distinguished her family."

The following is an Epitaph in praise of one JACKSON, Clerk of ST. PETER'S, who died on Saturday, the 29th of March, 1823, aged 85 years. The author of this epitaph was Mr. John Venables, son of a former master of the Chester Blue Coat School:

"Freed from his length'ned service upon earth,
Beyond the reach of loose, irreverent mirth,
Old Jackson's spirit joyful sings above
His Maker's praise, His mercy and His love.
The body here reclines in mouldering state,
Nor 'scapes the certain universal *fate*.
I knew him well—a Parish Clerk was he,
A better ne'er received a burial fee;
And for a long and sonorous "Amen,"
We ne'er shall look upon his like again.
He read so well that it was oftentimes said
The parson's laurels trembled on his head.
The critics say, indeed, he read too loud,
For of his reading he was justly proud;
And this inclined rash judges to conclude
He meant a competition that was rude.
But no, Clerk Jackson's knowledge of his place
Such flimsy charges would at once outface.
At chiming in or giving out a Psalm
From Parish Clerks he bore away the palm;
And when he died, 'tis said the evening bell
Was tongue-tied, and refused to ring his knell!
His lip was scornful, and his look full stern,
Which puzzled some his character to learn;
But skilful Physiognomists would say
That much benevolence within him lay.
But what avails this unrequested praise
Of one whose virtues parallel'd his days,
Unless to warn the juvenile and gay
That even he was subject to decay;
For tho' 'mong graves so many years he pass'd,
Old Death, grown testy, thrust him in at last!"

In the year 1862 the Prince Consort Memorial Window (North-East), representing the Last Supper, was placed by public subscription in our Parish Church at a cost of £264. The same year, the window in the centre of the East end was erected to the memory of the Rev. William Pulford, D.D., and Helen, his wife, at the sole cost of Mary Pulford, their daughter. The three compartments represent, in the centre, the Crucifixion of Our Lord; on the right hand, the Denial of the Apostle St. Peter, and on the left his Release (by the Angel) from Prison. The South-East window representing the Ascension of Our Lord is, we believe, the gift of a generous parishioner.

The late Mr. Thomas Helps presented the window beneath the Gallery on the South-West side (in memory of one of his children). The subject is the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, and Christ Blessing Little Children.

It still remains to be said that the Alderseys, Stringers, Bingleys, Hallwoods, Carringtons, with many others of ancient days, all sleep within the walls of our Old Parish Church; and one cannot help feeling glad that in the present day burials, for the most part, in the interior of our churches are strictly forbidden.

And now, in conclusion, I may be permitted to say that I have tried, and none knows so well as myself how imperfectly, to gather together the history of an ancient Parish Church. My chief difficulty has been in deciding upon the selection of the incidents most suitable for introduction to the Members of this SOCIETY. Of course, there is much yet remaining which would be as interesting as the fragments I have already garnered. While occupied with these historic memorials, the words of Lord Bacon have been frequently in my mind:—

“Teach us, O Lord, to number well our daies,
Thereby our hearts to wisdom to apply;
For that which guides man best in all his waies,
Is meditation of mortality!”

Elizabeth, Duchess of Clarence.

BY

MISS EMILY S. HOLT,

OF STUBBYLEE, BACUP.

Seven of the nine daughters-in-law of EDWARD III. are familiar names to those who love to wander in the byeways of history. JOAN, "the Fair Maid of Kent," the LOLLARD PRINCESS OF WALES,—the beautiful VIOLANTE OF MILAN,—BLANCHE OF LANCASTER, sung by Chaucer,—CONSTANCE OF CASTILLA, loser and winner of a crown,—KATHERINE SWYNFORD, loftiest of sinners,—ISABEL OF CASTILLA, another misjudged Lollard,—and ELEANOR BOHUN, the strong-minded daughter of a stronger-minded mother!

But the other two are known by little more than name; and these are, ELIZABETH OF ULSTER, first wife of LIONEL OF ANTWERP, DUKE OF CLARENCE,—and JOAN DE HOLLAND, second wife of EDMUND OF LANGLEY, DUKE OF YORK. How far JOAN DE HOLLAND was worth knowing may perhaps be questioned; for her character and temper were scarcely attractive: but the object of this Paper is to introduce to the nineteenth century ELIZABETH DE BURGH, COUNTESS OF ULSTER and DUCHESS OF CLARENCE, with especial reference to those points of her life and death which connect her with the County Palatine of CHESTER.

This lady is the more remarkable, since she was the only Irishwoman on whose head ever rested the fleur-de-lis coronet of a PRINCESS OF ENGLAND. And an Irishwoman she was, even more in disposition than by descent. Her temperament was thoroughly Celtic,—fervid and impulsive, loving and affectionate, generous even to the detriment of justice, and entirely regardless of consequences.

Of her personal appearance no more is known than that she was a handsome woman. The only statue or portrait of her on record was a little brass statuette which stood seventh in the row of those placed on that North side of the tomb of QUEEN PHILIPPA, in Westminster Abbey, now worn perfectly smooth.*

As regards her failings, one stands out prominently on every membrane of her royal father-in-law's *Issue Rolls*,—that the moment money touched her hands, it melted away in a most inscrutable manner. Whatever were the amount of her income—and it was always ample—a month after quarter-day ELIZABETH was certain to be penniless!

The 'Irish Princess' was not devoid of royal blood in her own veins. She was the heir of the eldest branch of the great House of De Burgh, which asserted an *unproved* descent from Charlemagne and from Hugh Capet; and could prove descent, in the female line, from King EDWARD I., as well as from the De Clares of Gloucester. The genealogical table I have prepared will make this clear; and it also shows the descendants of ELIZABETH herself down to the point where her line merged finally in the Royal Family, by the marriage of Anne Mortimer with RICHARD, EARL OF CAMBRIDGE.

TO WILLIAM, EARL OF ULSTER, history attributes a fine and amiable character. So much can hardly be said of his wife, MAUDE of Lancaster; for she was not only of a timid and irresolute disposition, but of a complaining, querulous temper. Their only child, ELIZABETH DE BURGH, was born in Ireland,—perhaps at Carrickfergus Castle,† which was her father's—on the 6th of July, 1332.§

The first event of the child's life was orphanhood. WILLIAM DE BURGH died, not by the visitation of God, but by the enmity of man. He was murdered in a family feud, which almost possessed the character of an agrarian outrage. His uncle Edmund fell with him. Seven years later, their cousins, Edmund and Raymond de Burgh, were pardoned "for the death of Edmund, son of Richard de Burgh, and for all other their crimes, except for the offence

* Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments*, I., Part 2, p. 124.

† Granted to Earl William Nov. 15, 1328.—*Rot. Pat.* 2 Edw. III., Part 2.

§ *I. P. M. Willielmi Com. Ulton'*, 7 Edw. III., 39.

against our peace of the death of WILLIAM, EARL OF ULSTER.”* The utmost age of the unfortunate Earl was only twenty-three,—some say only twenty,—when his life was thus taken by his own kinsmen, on his way to Knockfergus, on the 7th of June, 1333.

When the news of her widowhood reached the girl so bereaved—for in all probability she was not yet twenty,—MAUDE fled in terror from the land stained with her husband’s blood, taking with her their little daughter of barely one year old. They landed on the English coast shortly before the 12th of August.† MAUDE threw herself and her child on the protection of King EDWARD III., her own second cousin. They were very kindly received, and the King made provision at once for their residence in England, at first intended to be only temporary. But eleven years passed before MAUDE returned to Ireland, if indeed she ever went back at all; and ELIZABETH was not to revisit her native land until twenty-eight summers had shone upon her head.

A hundred marks per annum were allotted for the maintenance of the baby “heiress of Ulster,” who, says King EDWARD, “holds of us in chief;”§ but this sum was afterwards found insufficient, and eighty marks in addition were given.‡

MAUDE soon discovered that the sum appropriated to her daughter’s support had to be drawn upon for her own. ELIZABETH’S Irish tenants, having that aversion to rent which appears to have been characteristic of Ireland in the fourteenth century as well as in the nineteenth, declined to remit a penny, and the Countess was thereby rendered destitute.|| She appealed to the King to coerce her refractory tenants. This was beyond his power: but he did all he could, which was to relieve his distressed kinswoman out of his own pocket. A grant of 200 marks per annum was issued to MAUDE, in addition to the sum paid for ELIZABETH. Subsequent gifts raised MAUDE’S annual income to an amount equivalent to £4,000 of our money; but her complaints of poverty were not thereby appeased.

* *Rot. Pat.* 14., Edw. III., Part 1.

† Letters of Attorney were granted on that day to the Countess as Executrix of the Earl, and renewed on Nov. 28th for one year.—*Rot. Pat.* 7 Edw. III., Part 2.

§ *Rot. Pat.* 7 Edw. III., Part 2, dat. Dec. 22.

‡ *Ibid.*, 8 Edw. III., Part 2, dat. Sept. 28.

|| *Ibid.*, 9 Edw. III., Part 2, dat. Mar. 3; and 10 *ib.*, Part 1, dat. Mar. 18.

At Antwerp, on the 29th of November, 1338, was born the fourth son of EDWARD III. and Philippa. He received the name of LIONEL, in honour, it is said, of the lions borne in his mother's Hainault shield.* He was committed to the charge of Margaret, or Margery, de Mounceux, as nurse:† the State governess was Margery, Lady de la Mote. The royal children kept a minstrel for their exclusive benefit, named Le Gayt, upon whom they bestowed a gay tunic, value 6s. 8d., in reward for his music.§

But it was not for LIONEL of Antwerp that ELIZABETH DE BURGH was originally destined. On the 6th of April, 1340, King EDWARD granted the marriage of the heiress of Ulster‡ to his brother-in-law, Raynold, Duke of Gueldres (husband of his sister Alianora), for the benefit of Edward, his son and heir; and she was forbidden to marry any other person without royal licence. Thirteen months later, a petition was sent to the King from the Bishops, Nobles, and Commons of Ireland praying that (as the King's grant has it)

"for their great comfort and safety, and as an incentive to the devotion and fidelity of the people of that country, most favourably affected to our Royal House, we would that our most worthy ELIZABETH, daughter and heir of WILLIAM DE BURGH, late EARL OF ULSTER, deceased (who held of us *in capite*), now under our guardianship, should be married to LIONEL, our most dear son."||

The original proposition, it is thus evident, emanated from the Irish; but Edward took it into grave consideration, and finally decided on marrying the heiress of Ulster to his son, instead of to his nephew. The petition of the Irish was also promoted by the warm intercession of the Countess MAUDE, who did not wish her child to marry a foreigner, and who had probably no objection to see her a PRINCESS. King EDWARD therefore granted the request, as soon as the parties should have attained a proper age.

The parties, according to the modern view of things, were a long way off the proper age; for though the bride had reached the ripe maturity of *ten* years old, the years of the bridegroom were restricted to *three*, when, in the summer of 1342, it pleased King

* Longman's *Edw. III.* i., 143. † *Rot. Exit. Pasc.* 25 Edw. III., etc.

§ *Rot. Cust. Liberorum Domini Regis*, 94, 7.

‡ The scribe has mistaken the name of the heiress, calling her Margaret in this entry, as in another memorandum he has called her ISABEL. That Elizabeth was her name the proofs are irrefragable; nor could any other person have been styled "fil' et her, Will'i de Burgo, nuper Com' Ulton."

|| *Bymer's Fœdera*, v. 247; dat. May 5.

EDWARD to consider that a suitable period had arrived. Preparations were therefore made for the wedding. The masons were ordered to hasten the work at the Tower of London, in the new chapel of which palace (that of St. Peter ad Vincula) the ceremony was to take place. The stone required cost £16. The hall of the Tower was splendidly hung, and a special chamber was adorned for the accommodation of the bridal pair. These decorations cost no less than a hundred pounds.*

The day of the marriage is much disputed. Some writers give June 27th as the date; others, July 27th: and either may be true, for the *Issue Roll* decides this matter only so far as to state that the event had already taken place on the 9th of September. But if the day be a disputed question, the year has hitherto been far more so.† Several have been suggested, but the popular favour appears about equally distributed between 1352 and 1361. The question of year is, however, set completely at rest by the testimony of the *Issue Roll* for 1342, given below.

No record remains to tell who were present on this occasion. The bride's grandmother and namesake, ELIZABETH de Burgh, was in England at this time, and was very likely in the chapel of St. Peter, when the heiress of Ulster was made a PRINCESS OF ENGLAND. But one very interesting document remains, which may be called the jeweller's bill for the attire of the bride. She was decked, we thence learn, with a golden circlet, set with gems, a jewelled head-dress, brooch, and girdle, and her wedding ring was of gold, set with a single ruby. A literal translation of this part of the record may not be uninteresting:—

“Monday, the 9th day of September, [1342.]

To BARTHOLOMEW DE BOURGHASSH, into his own hands, in settlement of every penny which the said Bartholomew lately paid to certain men of London, for divers jewels from them bought for the use of ELIZABETH, daughter of WILLIAM, Earl of Ulster, for the espousal, between LIONEL, our Lord the King's son, and the aforesaid ELIZABETH, lately solemnized at the Tower of London, viz.:—

For a golden coronet, set with stones, for a gold girdle mounted with pearls, a brooch and a head-drees similarly garnished, and a ring mounted with a ruby,—all which jewels were presented to the said Elizabeth by our Lord the King by grants under his privy seal.....ccclx li.”§

* *Rot. Exit., Michs.*, 16 Edw. III., dat. July 22.

† All previous notices of this Princess are full of contradictions.

§ *Rot. Exit., Michs.*, 16 Edw. III.

Doubtless LIONEL was equally superb, but the style of his array is left to the imagination. Henceforward he was styled EARL OF ULSTER.

Five-and-twenty shillings, paid to William de Edyngdon (Bishop of Winchester) December 21st, 1343, for divers things bought by him for the marriage of LIONEL, completes the expenditure on this occasion.*

Nearly two years after this, the Countess MAUDE married a second time. She chose Ralph de Ufford, brother of Robert, Earl of Suffolk, a bluff, blunt soldier, very different from the gentle and graceful WILLIAM DE BURGH. Sir Ralph is supposed to have been a widower. His marriage with MAUDE took place about April, 1344;† and the issue of it was one daughter, named Maude like her mother, whose future is a *crux* to genealogists. She was certainly affianced, May 28th, 1350,§ to Thomas de Vere, Earl of Oxford; but she was almost as certainly *not* that Maude who became his wife and was the mother of his heir, Robert, Duke of Ireland. The fact that the King speaks of her as Maude *de Ufford*, in his confirmation of Bruseyard Chantry, in 1364, and yet places her among souls to be prayed for, as then dead,‡ might be held to shew that she died unmarried, were not her half-sister named with her, as Elizabeth *de Burgh*. With this baby daughter was the Countess Maude once more left a widow. Sir Ralph died “not within the four seas of England,”|| 1346, at Kilmainham Castle, April 9th, and in the following June his widow was in England.^a The Countess MAUDE resolved to try the matrimonial lottery no further, but to retire from society, by burying herself in the Priory of Campsey, co. Suffolk. She took the veil between August 9th, 1347, and April 25th, 1348,^b and we only hear of her once or twice again.

The “profession” of the Countess, of course, necessitated some provision for her daughters, who had hitherto resided with her. What became of the baby Maude is not told us; but ELIZABETH, now in her seventeenth year, was transferred to the

* *Rot. Exit., Michs.*, 17 Edw. III.

† *Rot. Pat.*, 18 Edw. III.

§ *Ibid.*, 24 Edw. III., Part 1.

‡ *Ibid.*, 38 Edw. III., Part 1.

|| *I. P. M. Radulphi de Ufford*, 20 Edw. III., 16.

(a) *Rot. Pat.*, 20 Edw. III., Part 1.

(b) *Ibid.*, 21 Edw. III., Part 3, and 22 *ib.*, Part 2.

guardianship of her mother-in-law, QUEEN PHILIPPA, into whose custody her lands had already been given, on the 1st of January, 1347,* probably in anticipation of MAUDE's intended seclusion.

Meanwhile the husband of ELIZABETH had risen to high eminence. During the absences of his father and brother in France, from 1345 to 1348, Lionel was constituted "Regent of England," the King being, as he says in the Patent, "well assured of his fidelity and trustworthiness."† This faithful and trustworthy statesman of seven to ten years old sat on the Throne during the Session of Parliament, and opened the Parliament of 1351 in person.§ His principal residence during his Regency was at Reading.‡

From 1348 to 1352, nothing is seen of ELIZABETH. She was probably engaged in the quiet perfecting of her education, under the motherly care of QUEEN PHILIPPA. When she comes before us again, it is in the attractive character of a peace-maker. On the 23rd of April, 1352, "at the intercession of the COUNTESS OF ULSTER, our dearest daughter," the King pardoned WILLIAM THORNTON, of BURTON IN LONSDALE, Lancashire: he does not appear, however, to have been a very worthy subject for the royal girl's compassion, seeing that he stood convicted of three murders, of breaking prison in CLITHEROE CASTLE, and of subsequently repeating the latter offence, when caught and lodged in the Marshalsea.||

In 1353, a separate household was formed for the COUNTESS OF ULSTER, who had now attained her majority. Her attendant ladies were Petronilla de Pageham, who had been in her mother's service;^a Alice Dantre, afterwards damsel of Queen Philippa;^b Margaret Dyneley,^c and Maude de Pudington.^d Nicholas Fladbury was her chaplain;^e and six persons are named at different times as her "varlets," of whom three are worthy to be noticed,—John de Hynton or Hylton, who remained in her service during her life;^f Reginald de Pypount, who had

* *Rot. Pat.*, 20 Edw. III., Part 3.

† *Ibid.*, 19 Edw. III., Part 1., dat. July 1; and 20 *ib.*, Part 2, dat. June 25.

§ *Rot. Parl.* ii., 225, a. ‡ *Rot. Pat.*, 20 and 21 Edw. III.

|| *Rot. Pat.*, 26 Edw. III., Part 1.

(a) *Rot. Exit., Pasc.*, 9, Edw. III., and *Rot. Pat.* 26 *ib.*

(b) *Rot. Pat.*, 33 Edw. III., and *Rot. Exit., Michs.*, 35 *ib.*

(c) *Rot. Pat.*, 39 Edw. III., Part 1.

(d) *Ibid.*, 31 Edw. III., Part 1. This latter name savours somewhat of Cheshire.

(e) *Rot. Exit., Pasc.*, 33 *ib.* (f) *Ibid.*, 34 and 38 Edw. III.

been in her mother's household, and was afterwards in that of her daughter;* and GEOFFREY STUKELEY, who appears to have been ELIZABETH's personal attendant, as he is entrusted with her most important business; and follows his mistress in all her journies.† He had been transferred from the King's household, and returned thither on the death of ELIZABETH. On and after the 12th of March, 1353, the Princess's income was paid to herself, instead of being assigned to the Queen for her benefit; and it was apparently in this or the following year that ELIZABETH took up her residence with LIONEL.

The Princess was now twenty-two, the Prince sixteen years of age. As LIONEL was precocious both in mind and person, the difference was probably not very noticeable. LIONEL proved extremely tall—close upon seven feet in height—and his physical proportions were in keeping with his stature.§ In face he resembled his Flemish mother; his hair was light, his eyes blue. Barnes (in his *History of Edward III.*) tells us, in a shower of capitals, that the King “bore a particular Love for his Third Son born (but Second living), Prince Lionel,” who was “one of the Loveliest shape in the World.”‡ Of all the renowned sons of EDWARD III., LIONEL was considered the most graceful, most courteous, and most eloquent. His chief defect was—as defects often are—a good quality carried to excess. The very amiability of his disposition caused him to be rather deficient in moral courage. But in physical courage he was far from deficient; while to a nature of singular guilelessness and simplicity, he united the greatest gentleness.

In all the world was there no Prince hym like
Of his stature, and of all semelnesse;
Aboue all men within his hole kyngrike
By the shulders he might be seene doutlesse;
As a mayde in halle of gentilnesse,
And in all places sonne to Retorike,
And in the feld a Lyon marmorike.”

—Harding's *Chronicle*, c. 328.

Lionel's name rarely occurs as a purchaser of anything on his father's *Issue Rolls*; but when it does, it is generally connected

* *Rot. Exit.*, Michs., 31 *ib.*; *Rot. Pat.*, 21 *ib.*, Part 2, etc.

† *Rot. Exit.*, Pasc. 28 *ib.*, etc. § Strickland's *Queens*, i., 556.

‡ Page 190.—Lionel was the fourth son in order of birth, William of Windsor and William of Hatfield, who both died young, having been second and third.

with silver plate; as, for instance, "for a silver-gilt cup £6 0s. 8d.,"* and again, "a seal and chain, £4 15s. 0d."†

Not long after her assumption of the religious habit, MAUDE OF LANCASTER founded two chantry chapels; the first in the Chapel of the Annunciation at CAMPSEY (where her second husband, Ralph de Ufford, lay buried),—the second, at ASHE—both in Suffolk. The chantry of five priests founded at Campsey was afterwards transferred to BRUSEYARD in the same county: which chantry at BRUSEYARD, known as Rockhall, was hereafter to be the last resting-place of ELIZABETH OF ULSTER.§

No sooner was ELIZABETH's purse resigned into her own hands than her thoughtless prodigality became manifest. Henceforth, to the close of her life, gifts of extra money, and loans which could never be returned, and so had to become gifts, figured on King EDWARD's *Issue Rolls*.

The Princess spent the summer of 1355 at Eltham with the King and Queen; and in that Palace, on the 16th of August, she gave birth to a daughter.‡ A varlet named John Prior was rewarded with £20 for his arduous journey—down the stairs, probably, or into the next room—to inform King EDWARD of the birth of his first grandchild.¶ The baby was baptized in Eltham Church, her sponsors being her grandmother, QUEEN PHILIPPA (whose name was given to the child), "Elizabeth, Countess of Clarence"—probably her great-grandmother, Elizabeth, Countess of Clare—and William de Edington, Bishop of Winchester and Lord Chancellor of England.^a An interest in Protestant eyes attaches to the name of William de Edington, for Edington and Ashridge were the only two English houses of the "Boni-Homines," or monks of the Waldensian faith.^b The King's eldest daughter, the Lady Isabel, presented a christening gift to the little neophyte, consisting of two cups, the larger being gilt and enamelled.^c

* *Rot. Exit., Michs.*, 31 Edw. III., Part 1.

† *Ibid.*

§ *Rot. Pat.*, 38. Edw. III., Part 1.

‡ *Probatio Etatis Philippæ Comitissæ Marchiæ*, 43 Edw. III., 91.

¶ *Rot. Exit., Michs.*, 30 Edw. III.

(a) *Probatio Et.*, 43 Edw. III., 91.

(b) Edward II. and the Despensers patronised the "Boni-Homines," to the indignation of the more orthodox Queen, Isabel of France. The breach between the hapless Edward and the "She-wolf of France" had at least as much a religious as a personal origin.

(c) *Rot. Exit., Michs.*, 30 Edw. III. The scribe has let his pen slip at a most awkward point, for he writes "*primogenito*," thus inferring that the infant was a boy. As all evidence extant goes to show that Philippa never had a brother, we must conclude it to be a mere slip of the pen.

QUEEN PHILIPPA had sent her own midwife, Margaret de Gaunt, to attend her daughter-in-law; and the King his personal physician, Master Pascal; but notwithstanding all their care, the recovery of the Princess was very slow, and her life was for some time in danger. Margaret de Gaunt was still in attendance on the 30th of November,* when she received ten pounds for her services; and Master Pascal was not recompensed until December with a fee of £13 6s. 8d., "for the cure performed by him on ELIZABETH, COUNTESS OF ULSTER."†

When she was sufficiently recovered, the Princess removed to Westminster with the Queen. King EDWARD, with LIONEL and his brother JOHN, had sailed from Sandwich on Michaelmas Day, and was prosecuting his French war amid cruel hardships. At least, so thinks the chronicler (Robert Avesbury); who informs his readers that "the French King destroyed vitels in front of the English, so that the English for iij days togethar dranke nothyng but watar."§

At Westminster ELIZABETH was residing on the 19th of January, 1356, when the King's gift of £40 was paid "into her own hands." By March the poor Princess was destitute, and required the relief of another gift of £20.‡

For the little PHILIPPA separate provision was made. In February she was sent to the care of her grandmother at Campsey, and a distinct household was formed for her. Reginald de Pyrpount, before mentioned, was constituted her agent, to transact business with the outer world; John Massingham was her tailor and chamber-varlet, his wages being 13s. 4d.; Joan the Rockster, evidently a more important person, received 20s., while Joan the Lavender, and the luckless page of the chamber, were expected to content themselves with 6s. 8d. each.||

ELIZABETH's annual allowance was now about £300. During 1356, £150 in addition was given to her at intervals; and £16 to buy four horses from one "Litel Wat."^a

If we regard as indicative of his calling the terrible name of Jacob Tothdrasher, we shall conclude that our Princess was suffering from toothache in 1358, when this functionary was sent from London to Bristol on her business.^b

* *Rot. Exit., Michs.*, 30 Edw. III.

† *Ibid.*

§ *Harl. MS.* 545, fol. 23.

‡ *Ibid.*, 30, *ib.*

|| *Ibid.*, *Michs.*, 32 Edw. III.

(a) *Rot. Exit., Michs.*, 30 & 31 Edw. III.

(b) *Ibid.*, 32 *ib.*

The little PHILIPPA finally quitted her grandmother's convent early in 1359. Poor baby of three years old! she left CAMPSEY to be married. Splendidly was she decorated at her wedding, for her jewels, and those of her aunt Margaret, married at the same time and place, cost £526 6s. 8d. Two thousand pearls formed part of their joint outfit. The triple ceremony—for JOHN OF GAUNT was also married to BLANCHE OF LANCASTER—took place in the Queen's Chapel, READING; but whether all were at precisely the same time is not so clear. If they were, PHILIPPA was married on the 19th of May, for the date of JOHN OF GAUNT's marriage is certain; but the entries on the *Rolls* sound rather as if the marriage of PHILIPPA had occurred in the preceding February. THOMAS DE THYNHAM, clerk of the Queen's Chapel, was the officiating priest in all three instances; and £10 was his fee for all.* The bridegroom of PHILIPPA was EDMUND MORTIMER, son and heir of ROGER, EARL OF MARCH; and so poor, or so parsimonious, was the Earl, that the King was obliged to give him £45 for the occasion. EDMUND was a gentleman of mature years in comparison with his bride, for he had attained the age of seven! A few months after this event, by the death of Earl Roger, PHILIPPA became COUNTESS OF MARCH: she remained, however, in the care of her mother.

From November, 1359, to the same month in 1360, LIONEL was absent at the French wars.† Within this period died the famous ELIZABETH DE BURGH (grandmother of our ELIZABETH), aged 63 years. She was buried in the Church of the Minoreesses, Aldgate, London. To her grand-daughter and namesake she left "the debt which her father owed me at his death; also for seed-corn" in twenty different manors;§ beside which special bequest, ELIZABETH became heir-at-law of her vast inheritance, consisting of her ULSTER jointure, and her third share of the Gloucester lands. King EDWARD, "wishing to show special favour to his beloved kinswoman, ELIZABETH, COUNTESS OF ULSTER," received her Irish lands into his protection, forgave her a debt of £25 owed by her great-grandfather to the Exchequer, and granted her for the future £500 a year, until she should receive the rents of her grandmother's estates.‡ But not on £500, nor any fixed sum whatever,

* *Rot. Exit., Pasc.*, 33 Edw. III.

§ *Test. Vetus.*, i., 58.

† *Wardrobe Roll* 8, Box A, membr. 3.

‡ *Rot. Pat.*, 34 Edw. III., part 2.

could the extravagant Princess reasonably be expected to "make both ends meet." Six months had not elapsed before she was borrowing again.

In March, 1360, at Leicester Castle, was born the second grandchild of King EDWARD, PHILIPPA OF LANCASTER, afterwards Queen of Portugal. ELIZABETH journeyed to Leicester—at a cost of £11 16s. 11½*d.*—to be present at the ceremony of the DUCHESS BLANCHE's uprising,* and also, there appears every probability, to act as sponsor to the infant. QUEEN PHILIPPA was also there, on the same errand.

The year 1361 had only just opened when poor ELIZABETH found herself in her normal state of poverty. She borrowed (as usual) of King EDWARD, whose chief use to her was as an inexhaustible bank, to be drawn upon at pleasure. As usual, again, the £66 she borrowed she was unable to return; and also, as usual, it was forgiven her. She was then at the Savoy Palace, on another visit to her sister of Lancaster.† Only just before, she had received seisin of all her grandmother's lands, and she really ought not to have been in this lamentable state of exchequer.

On the first of July, 1361, LIONEL was created Viceroy of IRELAND.§ He quitted England immediately, leaving ELIZABETH behind him. Possibly the disturbed state of the country was the reason why she did not accompany him. She spent the time of his absence in replenishing her wardrobe, laying in a stock of splendour with which she probably meant to overawe her countrymen when she herself went over. Beside the usual set of Garter robes, provided every year for the ladies of the Royal Family, there were delivered to John Veisy, "tailor of the Countess of Ulster," a quantity of coloured cloths, ermine and other skins, for her use.‡

LIONEL came back to fetch his wife. During his absence, his brother EDWARD, the "Black Prince," and EARL OF CHESTER, had been married to JOAN of Kent. ELIZABETH sent a present to the bride;|| but apparently she was not among the brilliant throng who graced the ceremony. Before she left England a fresh consignment of millinery and finery in general was made to John

* *Rot. Ez., Pasc.*, 34 Edw. III., part 2. + *Id., Michs.*, 35 Edw. III., part 2.
 § *Rot. Pat.*, 35 Edw. III., part 2. ‡ *Wardrobe Roll* 8, Box A., membr. 6.
 || *Rot. Exit., Michs.*, 36 Edw. III.

Veisy, comprising cloths of all sorts, furs of ermine and other beasts, pieces of velvet, silk baudekyn, fine linen, &c.

For PHILIPPA a much smaller provision was made,—16 ells of blue cloth, one miniver cloak and hood, one fur of 160 miniver skins, and 30 ermine skins.

Before the Earl and Countess left England, sums of money were lent to both for the supply of their personal wants. To LIONEL was delivered the modest amount of £9 11s. 4d.; but into the fair hands of ELIZABETH was poured no less than £400 “in the presence of the King’s Council, at the hospitium near Pauleshroff.”* Beside her ladies, the Princess was attended by Geoffrey Stukeley and three other varlets. Thirty men-at-arms, and thirty horsed archers, formed their guard. The royal travellers passed through CHESTER, and embarked from LIVERPOOL in July, 1362.† With them went Sir William de Windsor as commander of the guard,—a man less famed for himself than for his wife, the much-reviled (and I believe much-calumniated) Alice Periers. He returned to England on the 22nd of September, having seen his charges safely landed in Ireland.

Thus far, the indications given by the *Rolls* have been followed; but on the *Issue Roll* for Michaelmas, 37th Edw. III., one entry appears, which it is very difficult to harmonise with the rest. It occurs December 12th, 1362—

“To Geoffrey de Stukeley sent on four occasions to accompany ELIZABETH, COUNTESS OF ULSTER, towards the parts of CHESTER, by ordinance of the King in Councillxviiijs.

There is no evidence to shew that ELIZABETH ever went to Ireland until July, 1362, while it is hardly possible for her to have made four voyages thither between July and December. The entry may refer to this voyage in July, and to three previous visits to CHESTER, of which no trace remains.

LIONEL’s administration as Viceroy was extremely bad; yet it was not his fault, for he was merely carrying out his father’s instructions. His first order was that no man of Irish blood should be permitted to approach his camp. This style of govern-

* *Rot. Exit., Pasc.*, 36 Edw. III.

† Taking, probably, not the Eastham, but the Birkenhead route, and availing themselves of the Ferry-boat maintained there by the Monks of ST. MARY’S ABBEY,—embarking in fact from what is still familiar to the railway world as Monk’s Ferry.

ment rapidly brought him into a position of such "imminent peril"—the words are the King's—that it was necessary to send him reinforcements from England with all possible speed. His archers had deserted him; and he was only saved by his cousin, JAMES BUTLER, EARL OF ORMONDE; who threw himself into the breach with his household troops and retainers, at the peril of his life, until the reinforcements arrived.†

On the 14th of November, 1362, in the "Chaumbre Blanche" of Westminster Palace, three of the King's sons were created peers:—LIONEL, Duke of Clarence; JOHN, Duke of Lancaster; and EDMUND, Earl of Cambridge. For some mysterious reason, while the titles of LIONEL and JOHN were limited to heirs male, that of EDMUND was made heritable by heirs general.§ PHILIPPA, therefore, was never "Duchess of Clarence."

The account of expenditure on ELIZABETH's wardrobe, for the year 1362-3, remains extant; and be it remembered that its existence is owing to the fact, that her royal and indulgent father-in-law paid the bill.‡ It is too long to quote here.

The skirmishing, to call it by no harsher name, between the English and Irish, went on throughout 1363. It was in the close of that year, or in the opening days of the next, that the shadow of the Angel of Death darkened the halls of LIONEL.

When and how ELIZABETH died are unrecorded: we learn, however, from one MS. authority that the event occurred at DUBLIN.|| All that we know more relates to the details of her funeral. All writers agree that she was deeply lamented; yet the circumstances of her interment show incomprehensible neglect. KING EDWARD was not at fault with respect to money; whatever else were his failings, he was no miser; and he meted out the cost of his daughter-in-law's burial with no niggard hand. Yet, when it came to the actual expenditure, things were shabbily done; and not one member of the Royal Family was present. LIONEL

* *Rot. Pat.*, 26 Edw. III., part 1.—It is remarkable to note how the very same spirit was prevalent 170 years later, as shown by the following extract from a letter dated January 11th, 1534:—"William Polle goeth into Ireland, and is Provost Marshal, and hath for the same iij s. and iiij d. by the day, and xiij d. for his excusioner, and xij men in viij d. by the day to assist him: yet had he leyther tary at home for his wiff's sake."—John Husee, English agent of Viscount Lisle, then Governor of Calais, to his master: *Lisle Papers*, iv., 85.

† *Rot. Pat.*, 37 Edw. III., part 1.

§ *Rot. Parl.*, ii., 273.

‡ *Wardrobe Roll* 8, Box A., membr. 8 in dorso.

|| *Harl. M.S.* 154, fol. 76, b.

himself was perhaps detained in Ireland by political necessity: but of all those who had loved ELIZABETH OF ULSTER in her life, the cloistered Mother was the only one who knelt beside her coffin.

Two officers of the Princess's household—JOHN DE NEUBORNE and her chaplain, NICHOLAS DE FLADBURY—attended the royal corpse in its transit to its final home. Fourteen days were consumed in the voyage to England.

They left GREAT NESTON, in Wirral, on the 1st of February, 1364. Here they were met by Thomas Fox, a solitary varlet of the Duke's English household, who had been sent from London, apparently as the representative of everybody else. The first intention seems to have been to bury the Princess by the side of her grandmother, ELIZABETH DE BURGH, in the Minoreesses Church, Aldgate; and possibly, the preparations were somewhat disarranged by—it may have been—the sudden resolve which changed the place of sepulture to BRUSEYARD.

The account of the progress shall be given as it stands in the Original Document—a soiled fragment of a *Wardrobe Roll*, ending with no total of expenditure, but by no means the least interesting illustration of the life of ELIZABETH OF ULSTER. The original is, of course, in Latin; but it will be more attractive perhaps if I clothe it in an English dress.

"Particulars of the Account of NICHOLAS DE FLADBURY, Knight, and JOHN DE NEUBORNE, officers of the Lord DUKE OF CLARENCE; appointed to superintend the expenses incurred touching the burial of the body of the Lady ELIZABETH, late DUCHESS OF CLARENCE, namely from February 1st, 1364, to March 11th next ensuing :—

"Item, in account of £20 received of THOMAS * Chamberlain of Receipts of the Exchequer, Jan. 31, Anno 38, touching the expenses incurred by them [*i.e.*, Fladbury and Neuborne], in the matter of the corpse of ELIZABETH, late DUCHESS OF CLARENCE [travelling] from the town of NESTON, in Wirhale, to the Manor of BRUSEYARD.

"Item, in account for the custody of the body of the said DUCHESS at NESTON in WYRHALE, incurred from the beginning by the said Nicholas and John, namely, for 14 days.....18s.

"And for one cart (or chariot) with 4 horses, conducted, from the said town of NESTON, conveying the aforesaid corpse to CHESTER4s.

"And for one cart (or chariot) with two men and 6 horses, similarly conducted, to convey the said corpse from CHESTER to COVENTRY, whence the cart came, for 6 days, at 6s. 8d. a day44s.

* Surname illegible.

"And for one other cart, with two men and 6 horses, similarly conducted, to convey the said corpse from COVENTRY to BRUSEYARD, in the county of SUFFOLK, whence the cart came, for 10 days, at 10s. a day.....100s.

"And for the journey of THOMAS FFOC [qr., Fox or Fowke], varlet of the DUKE OF CLARENCE, going from London, the first day of February, in the same year, to NESTON in WYRHALE aforesaid, to meet the aforesaid corpse, and following it with the vehicle, from NESTON aforesaid to BRUSEYARD aforesaid for 29 days, at 12d. for each day.....29s.

"And for his journey from the said town of BRUSEYARD, bearing the letters of our Lord the KING to the BISHOP OF NORWICH, touching the celebration of burial for the said corpse,—going and returning, and until . . . the day of burial, namely, the eleventh day of March, staying at BRUSEYARD, to help in divers respects, for eleven days, at 12d. per day.....11s.

"Item, for 3 ells of linen cloth of Rennes, bought by JOHN NEUBORNE, for the coffin of the aforesaid corpse, at 22d. per ell.....5s.

"For two ells of red sindon [lawn] similarly bought by the said JOHN, to make a cross upon the said coffin.....2s.

"Item, for the boat-hire and carriage of one hall [*i.e.*, the tapestry hangings for a hall], and one black bed, from Westminster to London, to the Duke of Clarence's house near Aldgate.....6d.

"And for return carriage and boat-hire for the same from the said house to Westminster aforesaid6d.

"And for the journey of a varlet on horseback, conveying the said hall, and the said black bed, from London to BRUSEYARD aforesaid,—going, staying, and returning with them, for 15 days, at 12d. per day15s.

"And for the purchase of 20 iron hooks for the said hall and chamber.....6d.

"And for the journey of NICHOLAS DE FLADBURY, from the first day of February to the 11th day of March, assigned in payment of money expended by him during the period of this account at 3s. 4d. per day, for 40 days.....£6 13s. 4d.

"Item, for the journey of JOHN NEUBORNE in like manner, similarly assigned in payment of money as aforesaid, for 40 days at 3s. 4d. per day, during the period of this account.....£6 13s. 4d."

It is to an entry on the *Issue Roll* that we owe the additional fact that the body also rested at CAMPSEY Abbey, Suffolk, on its way to BRUSEYARD.*

The total expenses incurred by FLADBURY and NEUBORNE were £24 16s. 2d; but £200 more were paid to JOHN DE HYLTON and HENRY PALMER for further costs of the funeral. Four cloths of

* *Rot. Erit., Michs.*, 38 Edw. III.—A Collegiate Chapel in honour of "the Annunciation" was founded at CAMPSEY for a Warden and four secular priests, by MAUDE, COUNTESS OF ULSTER, in 1347. Seven years after, this establishment was removed to BRUSEYARD, the old site and possessions being resigned to an abbess and nuns of the order of St. Clare.—*Editor*.

foreign gold baudekyn, and nine of Lucca baudekyn, were offered at the ceremony on behalf of the KING, the QUEEN, and the LADY ISABEL.* Black cloth also was issued for the burial.

PHILIPPA, now eight years old, was brought from Ireland with the damsels of her dead mother,† and consigned to the care of her grandmother, the QUEEN (by whom her expenses were reduced to £100 a year), until the death of the Queen in August, 1369. She was then, at the age of 13, delivered to her husband, the EARL OF MARCH, with whom she was residing in England in 1370. PHILIPPA was the mother of five children, all born between 1371 and 1377 inclusive; and it was not improbably at the birth of the youngest that she died, in December, 1377.§ She was buried at Wigmore.

LIONEL visited England twice during 1364. When he came over is doubtful; but he was at Westminster in July, and in Ireland in November, having sailed from LIVERPOOL with a suite of 80 ships. He came back—a flying visit of a few days only—in December, perhaps to be present at that Anniversary of ELIZABETH to which I shall allude again. He seems invariably to have embarked at LIVERPOOL. Until July, 1365, he remained in Ireland: another visit to England followed; and he was at his post during nearly the whole of 1366. In July, 1367, we find him again at Westminster; and in April, 1368, he set off on that triumphal progress to Milan, in anticipation of his second marriage, from which he returned only in his coffin. His marriage with VIOLANTE VISCONTI, daughter of GALEAZZO, Duke of Milan, was celebrated in that city, April 25th, 1368: he took possession, as governor, of the city and province of Pavia, in which city he died, on the 17th of October, 1368. His suite suspected poison, the circumstances of his death appearing to them extraordinary; but there does not seem to have been any real foundation for the supposition. In his will he left several bequests to VIOLANTE; he made no mention of ELIZABETH.

I alluded before to ELIZABETH's Anniversary. There was but one celebration of it, viz: in 1364, and the two entries on the *Rolls*

* *Wardrobe Roll* 8, Box A., membr. 13.

† *Rot. Exit., Michs.*, 38 Edw. III., and *Federa*, vi., 435.

§ *Rot. Exit., Michs.*, 1 Rich. II.—Geoffrey Stukeley was sent with the news to John of Gaunt, January 7th, 1378. Her husband was made Viceroy of Ireland in 1378 (*ib.*, *Michs.*, 3 Ric. II.), where by his affability and eloquence he was very popular, and died from cold taken in fording the Lee, December 27th, 1381.

—one the mandate for its celebration, the other the refunding of its costs—show that it was held, and therefore that she had died, between November 6th and December 12th.* If LIONEL came over to be present at it, the day must have been much nearer the latter date than the former, for on the 5th of December he had apparently not arrived. It may, therefore, perhaps, be inferred that the date of ELIZABETH's death was about the 10th of December. For this ceremony 200 yards of cloth were issued from Candelwykstrete (the peculiar undertakers' quarter of London), and four cloths of golden baudekyn of Lucca were offered by the King. Furred mourning robes were provided for the Queen and the young COUNTESS OF MARCH;† so possibly they were present. The expenses were 66s. 8d.§

After this date, not another word is to be found concerning ELIZABETH. The Royal Family were busied in preparing for VIOLANTE; whom they were so anxious not to lose, that a proviso was inserted in the contract that, if anything occurred to prevent her marriage with LIONEL, his brother EDMUND should be substituted in his place. So, in the beams of the rising sun, the lost Pleiad was no more remembered. One brief year before, the Royal Family had mourned her—it is said—as rarely *any* Princess was mourned; but now only the mother's true heart, nun though she were, retained loving and sorrowing memory of ELIZABETH OF ULSTER.

In the words of "L. E. L.," I conclude:—

"Thou art forgotten—thou, whose feet
Were listened to like song!
They used to call thy voice so sweet,—
It did not haunt them long.
Thou, with thy fond and fairy mirth,—
How could they bear their lonely hearth?"


* The death was 1363 and the Anniversary in 1364. It will be misleading to give the date of year.

† *Wardrobe Roll* 8, Box A, membr. 13 *in dorso*.

§ *Rot. Exit.*, 39 Edw. III.

ON
THE ASSOCIATIONS OF MILTON
WITH
THE RIVER DEE AND CHESHIRE.

BY
THE VERY REV. J. S. HOWSON, D.D.,
DEAN OF CHESTER.

OME years ago I was spending a quiet evening at CAMBRIDGE, in rooms at Trinity College, with two distinguished classical scholars. In a pause of the conversation one of them suddenly said to the other, "That was a very ingenious thought of yours which led you to conjecture, from those lines of MILTON's concerning the Rivers of England, that he must have had a college friend named RIVERS!"

My attention was naturally arrested by the remark; and I asked how far there was any confirmation of the guess that, in fact, the poet's exclamation, "Rivers, arise!" was, in the first instance, a pun. I was told that there was a very fair amount of evidence in favour of the view; and, if I remember rightly, I went the next day to Christ's College, MILTON's own College, and there I saw, in the book of entries for the year 1625, JOHN MILTON's own name and this name of RIVERS in very near proximity. I have often thought of this incident since; and recently having had my attention turned to the antiquarian interest of the River DEE, and having observed (or perhaps fancied) in MILTON a high appreciation of the value of Rivers, both in their poetical aspect and in regard to their geographical importance; and knowing, as we all know, that he uses some very warm and reverential expressions in reference to our own river, I have written to one of the two scholars, to whom allusion was made above, that I might ascertain the exact state of the case, and I now read his answer:—"You will remember that

MILTON's own admission here was on February 12, 1624-5, *i.e.*, 1625, as we reckon now. Three years later (May 10, 1628) occurs the admission of two brothers, named GEORGE and NIGEL RIVERS, from the county of Kent. It is not said that either of the two admitted on this day is the *eldest* son, a fact which is usually specified in our Admission Books. I suspect the eldest son was admitted some time before, and is not found in our book, which begins with March 25, 1623. In those days families seem to have been more exclusively attached to particular Colleges than is the case now, and I suspect the RIVERS family (clearly one of some position and repute) patronised CHRIST'S. I mention this because, according to Todd, MILTON's exercise is of the year 1627, *i.e.*, before the younger RIVERS were admitted. The correctness of —'s guess is not proved, but rendered very probable by this consideration."

There is, therefore, a high probability that among MILTON's friends at College was one bearing this name; and so far the ingenuity of a critical scholar has received some confirmation. But the subject grows very much in interest when we consider the circumstances under which these familiar lines were written:—

Rivers, arise: whether thou be the son
Of utmost Tweed, or Oose, or gulphy Dun,
Or Trent, who, like some earth-born giant, spreads
His thirty arms along the indented meads;
Or sullen Mole, that runneth underneath:
Or Severn swift, guilty of maiden's death:
Or rocky Avon, or of sedgy Lee,
Or coaly Tine, or ancient hallowed DEE:
Or Humber loud, that keeps the Scythian's name,
Or Medway smooth, or royal-towered Thame!

I suppose the general impression concerning these lines is simply this, that they are quoted in geography-books, and taught to our children; but at what time of MILTON's life they were written, and under what circumstances, probably very few people know.

Certainly I did not know these things myself until very lately. The lines were written when MILTON was a young man at CAMBRIDGE, only twenty years old: and they are a mere fragment, occurring abruptly in a strange medley of fun and frolic, partly prose and partly verse, recited in the College Hall before the fellows and

students of the College. This is the "exercise" referred to in the Cambridge letter quoted above. It was not till late in MILTON's life that this medley was published. Some parts of it are said to be very coarse; so that Professor MASSON, in his biography of the poet, does not give the whole of it. Coarseness in MILTON seems somewhat strange—for we have the best proof that his life and mind were pure—but I attribute this feature of the composition in question to the defective taste of the times. That MILTON had abundant humour we can infer from *Comus* and *L'Allegro*: and the manner in which these lines are introduced is very comical. Various metaphysical personages come forward in turns; and after Quantity and Quality have spoken in prose, then Relation is called by his name and speaks these lines. Wharton remarks that it is very hard to see how the lines were applicable to the subject in hand. But, as Grainger says, it was common then, in compositions of this kind, to have "perplexed allegories, the personages of which were fantastic to the last degree." If we knew the whole case of this entertainment at CHRIST's College, we might probably see that the fellows and students of the College were satirised in some way by means of the Rivers here enumerated, while the mention of the first word, understood immediately, would excite immoderate laughter.

It would certainly be very curious if a pun in early life led to a characteristic feature of MILTON's poetry; but such a thing is quite possible. It ought perhaps to be added, in reference to the correct geographical instinct exhibited in the fragment, that Drayton's *Polyolbion* had then not long been published, and that it was doubtless very familiar to MILTON. I know no book which exhibits so forcibly the great part played by Rivers in regard both to scenery and history. There is no end to the ingenuity and perversity which may be called into play by the use of a single pun; and under the shelter of this remark I venture, by the way, to call attention to the fact that among MILTON's Minor Poems is an epitaph on the MARCHIONESS OF WINCHESTER, who was a daughter of THOMAS, Viscount SAVAGE, of ROCK SAVAGE in CHESHIRE, and nearly related by blood to Earl RIVERS, and that this epitaph, to quote one of its own lines, is "sent from the banks of CÂM." It would be difficult to imagine any influence over MILTON arising

from this remote connection with the name RIVERS; but we have here already a slight link of connection between the poet and CHESHIRE, and I invite particular attention to the mention of the CAM.

That MILTON had, from whatever cause, this peculiar feeling in regard to the significance of Rivers I think there cannot be a doubt. The proofs will accumulate as we proceed. And, of all the Rivers of England, no two could be so worthy of this feeling as the two border-streams of Wales, "the smooth Severn stream," which has given "Sabrina fair" to *Comus*, and our own "Sacred Hallowed DEE." Without attempting to determine which of the two has the greater claim, we cannot forget that the early histories,—which had not then been cruelly analysed by the critics,—connected the legend of King Arthur with the source of the DEE; that Spenser had already sung of the DEE; that this river was deemed to exercise prophetic powers by the shifting of the waters in its bed; that CHESTER had great historical recollections; that the Druids had then, as they have now, a charm for poets, and that the Welsh mountains were a mystery not yet penetrated by TELFORD and worse than Telford.

But from these general thoughts I turn to something more specific. There are two circumstances of a personal and very affecting kind, which connect MILTON with CHESHIRE and the DEE. One of MILTON's dearest CAMBRIDGE friends, EDWARD KING, himself a very distinguished member of the University, was early in the autumn of 1639 bound for DUBLIN. CHESTER and the DEE were then, for those who were on their way to IRELAND, what LIVERPOOL and the MERSEY became afterwards. EDWARD KING passed through CHESTER—passed through the estuary of the DEE—in safety; but the ship, while sailing along the WELSH coast, struck a rock and foundered, and nearly all on board, he among them, were lost. A circumstance connected with the date is worthy of note, as we are among the associations of the poets. It was the very day after Ben Jonson's funeral. Probably the news of the old Laureate's death had not reached young EDWARD KING before he sailed.

This sad shipwreck seems to have created a profound sensation. A volume was published with three-and-twenty Latin and Greek,

and thirteen English, poems *in memoriam*. Such collections of poems seem very strange to us now, in consequence of their odd conceits and fancies. Some of these would be, for this reason, well worth quoting. In one of them occur these two lines:—

The Muses are not mermaids: though upon
His death the Ocean might turn Helicon.

The point, however, for us to observe now is that the last poem in this collection was MILTON's *Lycidas*. MILTON's grief was very great; and in this poem it is recorded. The poem is wild and irregular, and in some parts obscure; but it is most carefully composed and is wondrously beautiful! It is not, however, criticism with which we are concerned here; but the illustrations afforded of the connection of MILTON with the DEE. The quotation of a few lines will show how strong this connection became, and how impossible it would be afterwards for MILTON to think of this part of the coast without emotion:—

Who would not sing for Lycidas? He knew
Himself to sing, and build the lofty rhyme.
He must not float upon his watery bier
Unwept, and welter to the parching wind,
Without the meed of some melodious tear.

* * * * *

Where were ye, Nymphs, when the remorseless deep
Clos'd o'er the head of your lov'd Lycidas?
For neither were ye playing on the steep,
Where your old Bards, the famous Druids, lie,
Nor on the shaggy top of Mona high,
Nor yet where *Deva* spreads her wizard stream.

Near the close it seems to us most curious to see the poet, after a truly Christian allusion to "the dear might of HIM that walked the waves," passing on to a thoroughly heathen image, and converting his friend into a guardian spirit of the coast:—

Now, Lycidas, the shepherds weep no more;
Henceforth thou art the Genius of the shore,
In thy large recompence, and shalt be good
To all that wander in that perilous flood.

But in consistency with our present train of thought one thing more must be noticed in this poem of *Lycidas*. I allude to the mention of *rivers* which it incidentally contains. Besides Arethusa and the Alpheus, we find here (and what epithets could be more

true to the facts?) the "swift Hebrus," the "smooth-sliding Mincius, crowned with vocal reeds;" and finally the river of his own college-days and EDWARD KING's college-days, "slow-footing Camus,"

His mantle hairy, and his bonnet sedge,
Inwrought with figures dim, and on the edge,
Like to that sanguine flower, inscribed with woe.
"Ah! who hath reft," quoth he, "my dearest pledge?"

But EDWARD KING was not the only friend of MILTON, or the dearest friend, whose early death formed an affecting link between the poet and the county of CHESHIRE. EDWARD KING was his college-friend: but CHARLES DIÓDATI was his school-fellow. The name Diódati (so it ought to be pronounced) is obviously Italian: and in more ways than one it is a distinguished name. Two brothers came westward from Lucca, in that exciting time when religious reform and literary revival were both fermenting throughout Europe. One was John Diódati, who settled at Geneva as a professor of Theology, was the friend of Father Sarpi, became famous both as a translator of Holy Scripture, and as a commentator on its contents; and in 1618 was sent to the Synod of Dort, where it is perhaps worth our while, on this occasion, to remember that he met the father of GEORGE HALL, one of the Bishops of CHESTER. The other brother, Theodore, was a physician in London: and his son Charles studied and played with JOHN MILTON at St. Paul's School. CHARLES DIÓDATI went to Trinity College, Oxford, when MILTON went to CHRIST's, Cambridge. So far they were separated: but such separation was not likely to disturb a close friendship. They met frequently, and frequently corresponded by letter: and memorials of those communications remain. In MILTON's prose writings are two letters, written apparently about the time of KING's death, from London to DIÓDATI, when he must have been somewhere in the North: for we find in one of them these words:—"Are there in those parts any learned folk, or so, with whom you can willingly associate or chat, as we were wont together? How long do you intend to dwell among those Hyperboreans?" The first and sixth elegies, written in Latin, and the fourth sonnet, written in Italian, are all addressed to DIÓDATI. But the interest of this subject is, for

us, concentrated on the first elegy: and for this reason, because DIÓDATI was then in CHESHIRE. He had written to MILTON two letters in Greek, the originals of which, with some corrections by MILTON, are in the British Museum. Of the poet's reply, written in the style of Ovid, I give a short extract from the translation by Professor MASSON:—"At length, dear Friend, your letter has reached me, and the messenger-paper has brought me your words—brought me them from the western shore of CHESTER'S DEE, where with prone stream it seeks the Vergivian wave . . . Me at present that city contains which the Thames washes with its ebbing wave . . . At present it is not my care to revisit the reedy CAM."

Here I may make three remarks by the way,—first that the word "Vergivian," whatever its derivation may be, is used by Drayton to describe the Irish Sea—secondly, that we should mark here the mention of CHESTER as well as of the DEE,—and thirdly, that MILTON's love of *rivers* seems in this passage very apparent. London, where he is writing, is designated by the tidal river which passes through it: his friend is in CHESHIRE, and the DEE, on its course to the western sea, is used to define the district; while Cambridge is described by the characteristic reeds on its sluggish stream: to all which must be added the concluding words of this elegy, where the poet says it is his intention sometime to travel back again to the "rushy marshes of the Cam" and once more to listen to the "hoarse disputations of the Schools." Our chief business is with CHESTER and the DEE; and we have enough here to connect MILTON, in a very interesting way, with our City and our River.

But a sad occurrence afterwards deepened whatever feeling he might have in reference to the DEE. Soon after this time he travelled in Italy, paying a visit on his way, at Geneva, to the uncle of his friend. During this tour CHARLES DIÓDATI died; and the shock to MILTON when he returned, and went to the old Physician's house in London, was very great. A passionate grief seems, for the time, to have thrown a shade over all the poet's thoughts and words. There is a tradition that DIÓDATI had settled and practised as a Physician in CHESTER, and that he died there: but I have not been able to ascertain that this is authenticated.

The date of his death appears to have been in the summer or autumn of 1638. Of MILTON's feelings we have a permanent record in the Latin poem entitled "*Epitaphium Damonis*." It is very curious to see him finding consolation in composing a pastoral so ingeniously constructed after the style of Virgil. But the point to which I ask special attention is again one of minute criticism. The mention of several English Rivers is interwoven among these Latin Hexameters, and apparently with a very accurate description of their aspect, as if he knew what they were like. Thus the Ouse is described as yellow, the Tamar in Cornwall is said to be discoloured by its metal-workings. Very obscure rivers too have a place here, as well as those which are more famous. We find in this poem, not only the Thames and the Trent, but the Essex river Chelmer, and the Colne of his own county of Buckingham. It appears to me that the evidence accumulates as we proceed in favour of the position I have ventured to lay down, that MILTON had a great love for Rivers, and was deeply conscious of both their poetical and their geographical value. Of his feeling towards the DEE there cannot be a doubt; and we have no difficulty in accounting for it, whether on the ground of the fame and hoary dignity of this stream itself, or those tender personal associations, which have been described above.

Whether MILTON was ever himself in CHESHIRE, I am not able, in my present state of information, to say. It is, however, not a little curious that, in later life, he was connected with this county by a very close personal link. I fear I am now descending from poetry into prose. My illustrations now are a walking-stick [which by some mistake I was not able at to exhibit at my Lecture], and a coffee-pot, the presence of which I owe to the kindness of Mr. WILBRAHAM TOLLEMACHE, of NANTWICH. But even poets may be lame, as well as blind. Even poets must sit by the fire and rest. Even poets marry; some of them more than once. Stories have been told of MILTON's third wife, to the effect that she was unkind to her husband. I believe these stories to be quite untrue, as I believe most stories regarding the unkindness of wives towards their husbands to be untrue. There is another mistake as to a matter of fact, the recent correction of which it may be desirable to mention. It was asserted very confidently by Pennant, in his

Journey from Chester to London—and the assertion is repeated in Ormerod's *History of Cheshire*—that the third Mrs. MILTON was a daughter of one of the MINSHULLS of STOKE. This appears to be undoubtedly an error. The matter is investigated in the first volume of the *Chetham Miscellanies*; and the result is compactly stated in a communication by the late Mr. FITCHETT MARSH, of Warrington, to the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, at their meeting in Liverpool on Feb. 22, 1855. It is regarded now as certain that this lady was "the daughter of RANDULPH MINSHULL, of WISTASTON, near NANTWICH, where she was baptized on the 30th December, 1638: and consequently, if baptized shortly after birth, she was in her 26th year at the time of her marriage with MILTON in 1664, and in her 89th year at her death."

That she lived at NANTWICH during her widowhood is certain; and various relics of the poet are traced up to her possession with more or less certainty. Her Will, and the Inventory attached, were exhibited to our Members by the great kindness of Mr. Parry. The two most interesting articles in this list are the two portraits, one taken by Janssen when MILTON was a boy, the other belonging to the time when he was a young man, and when, from his beauty, he was called the "Lady of CHRIST'S COLLEGE." One of these pictures became the property of Speaker Onslow, the other was in the possession of Mr. Hollis; of whom this anecdote is told, that, when his house in London was burnt down, he calmly walked out at the door with this treasure in his hands, regardless of anything else! That these two pictures were authentic there cannot be a doubt; for when Vertue the engraver took some prints to DEBORAH CLARKE, MILTON's youngest daughter, she at once recognised the likeness, and referred to the two pictures possessed by her mother in CHESHIRE. This question of the portraits of MILTON is very large and intricate, and has been dealt with at length by the same Mr. MARSH in a communication to the Historic Society dated May 3, 1860. I venture only to touch on those parts of the subject which have some reference to CHESHIRE; and I may add that this gentleman mentions one portrait, which he considers spurious, as having belonged to Mr. FALCONER, formerly Recorder of CHESTER; and another, with considerable claims to confidence, as in the possession of Mr. BROMLEY DAVENPORT, of CAPESTHORNE.

We seem to be brought very near to MILTON, both in time and place, when we read this in Bishop Newton's *Life* of him, as edited in 1824 by Dr. Hawkins, the present Provost of Oriel*:—"MILTON's widow died very old, about twenty years ago, at NANTWICH, in CHESHIRE; and, from the accounts of those who have seen her, I have heard that she confirmed several things which have been related above; and particularly that her husband used to compose his poetry chiefly in winter, and on his waking in a morning would make her write down sometimes twenty or thirty verses. On being asked whether he did not often read Homer and Virgil? she understood it as an imputation upon him for stealing from those authors, and answered with eagerness that he stole from nobody but the Muse who inspired him; and being asked by a lady present who the Muse was? replied that it was the grace of God's HOLY SPIRIT!" These appear to me the words not only of a good loyal CHESHIRE wife, but of a religious woman, as well as a testimony to the religious character of MILTON himself.

I cannot close without reverting once more to MILTON's early days and to the Banks of the CAM. One remarkable characteristic of CAMBRIDGE is that it is the University of the English Poets. Here, in the early part of this century, were Coleridge, Wordsworth and Byron. Here at an earlier time was Dryden. We have already seen how closely and affectionately MILTON was connected with that University. Let me remind you in conclusion, that the praises of the DEE are sung not only by the Cambridge Laureate of Queen ELIZABETH's reign, but by the Cambridge Laureate of our own Queen VICTORIA, in lines which I dare say most of you have read in the "Idylls of the King." May I, in conclusion, be allowed, in a spirit of loyalty to my own University, to offer this slight contribution as a crown of reeds and rushes from the CAM to the Druid of the DEE?

* This eminent and venerable man has passed to his rest since this Paper was written.

THE CITY AGAINST THE ABBEY,—
DISPUTES BETWEEN THE CORPORATION AND
CATHEDRAL AUTHORITIES OF CHESTER.

BY

THOMAS HUGHES, F.S.A.,

ONE OF THE SOCIETY'S HONORARY SECRETARIES.*

HISTORY abounds with instances where the Church and the State have competed with each other for social status,—for material wealth, and,—it must unfortunately be added, for political power also. It would be easy to adduce cases, down even to our own day, where rivalries of this kind have imperilled the proudest dynasties, and laid nations and states almost level with the dust.

I propose to offer, however, no such painful catalogue in my present Paper. Religious and party politics have, and very properly so, no place whatever in the discussions of this SOCIETY. Burning questions of the day, too, or of the unknown future, are clearly no concern of ours as Members; and we may calmly leave them to be settled or unsettled, as the case may be, at the bar of public opinion, and by the collective wisdom or folly of the nation. It is, on the other hand, our privilege and province, as Archaeologists, to hark back to the sacred past, and to recall from the dust of centuries gone by any long-forgotten incident, any curious historic fact, tending, however slightly, to illustrate the social life and habits of our forefathers. In this way, we may try to realise how, and to what extent, they differed from ourselves in their aspirations and aims,—in their virtues, their failings, their personal character,—and in their influences for good or for evil on their own or on later times.

* Read before a Meeting of the Chester Archaeological and Historic Society, Dec. 14th, 1874.

To me it is a pleasant thing, when peering into these local records of the past, to throw myself back as it were into those "good old times" of poesy and romance; and, forgetful awhile of the 19th century, its cares and its worries, try to live with, and in my mind's eye to study, the actors in those scenes which rise up before me; to judge of them, moreover, by the standard of the age in which they lived, rather than of that boasted, and, perhaps, boastful one in which our own lot is cast. Thus much, alone, by way of preface.

CHESTER has, probably, from the very earliest historic times, had its civil and ecclesiastical jealousies, in common with other ancient centres of English life. There is an inkling, indeed, of this in that portion of the great *Domesday Book* which relates to this city. In that priceless national treasure—almost the earliest that now remains of all our written Records,—the rights of the EARL, on the one side, and the rights of the BISHOP on the other, are each insisted upon and fully recognised.

The EARL and the BISHOP respectively were the only Cheshire subjects who held their lands directly from the KING. In the words of the *Domesday Survey*, as accurately translated by our brother antiquary, Mr. BEAMONT, "In Chester, the Bishop of the the said City holds of the King what belongs to his bishopric. And all the rest of the county Earl Hugh, with his men under him, holds of the King."

Practically, the BISHOP was supreme within his peculiar borough or bailiwick, and over his own clergy and tenantry; while the EARL, through his ministers, was undisputed lord over the rest of the City. On Sundays and high festivals, the BISHOP held the lash of authority alike over his own and the EARL's dependents; fining indiscriminately merchants or freemen, serfs or maidservants, who dared to do trade on, or otherwise dishonour the Lord's Day, or the great holidays of the Church. His tenants were free from all service in the EARL's courts, and from most of the taxes imposed locally on other citizens: so far, indeed, as any liability to maintain the city's poor was concerned,—that exemption remained to them to very late in our own day. Bearing this in mind, we can easily imagine how, in process of time, jealousies would spring up, and

strifes ensue, between two estates existing side by side, having few interests in common, and being wholly, or nearly so, independent of each other. Of this, however, more anon.

The barons, knights, esquires, and other free men of the county, were mere tenants of the EARL; by whose help he was enabled, in pursuance of his original grant, "to hold his earldom by the sword, as freely as the King held England by his Crown." The EARL'S City of CHESTER, except those portions under the dominion of the BISHOP, was pretty much in the same condition. It was not as yet strictly a municipality. No mention of a MAYOR or Borough-reeve is to be found in *Domesday*; but there are several distinct references to the two Prefects or SHERIFFS—the KING'S SHERIFF and the EARL'S SHERIFF—and the duties those officials had in that early day to perform were analagous to those for which our CITY SHERIFF is still personally responsible. It is 200 years after this before we fall in with a MAYOR OF CHESTER; and when he does appear, he comes as the Freeman's nominee, in their corporate capacity, under powers delegated to them by the EARL. It was the same with the EARL's, or CITY SHERIFF.

The KING'S SHERIFF* on the contrary, owned no such minor authority. He was the King's own servant and official substitute within the City; executing all the King's writs, aye, and executing the King's criminals too, sometimes in wholesale fashion, without accounting either to the City or to the EARL. In the main duties appertaining to his office, the KING'S SHERIFF, now as of old, acts quite independently of the Mayor and Corporation, of which latter he is, though not of necessity, a member. With plenary power, fortified by the Crown's writ, and with the assistance of his under-sheriff and bailiffs, he pounces upon a refractory debtor, provided he be a resident citizen, and in the most summary manner he turns the goods and chattels of his victim into current coin for the satisfaction of the debt.

In the Conqueror's days, the SHERIFF, in common with almost his modern successor, had charge of all Crown prisoners within the City. It was in his own court that they were tried,—he hanged all, without distinction, favour, or remorse, who were condemned to die: but if he chanced to hang the wrong man, or one beyond his

* And therefore called, in some writs of the Crown, the HIGH SHERIFF OF CHESTER.

special jurisdiction,—woe betide him! for he had to forfeit, says *Domesday*, twenty shillings for every such accident or offence! The SHERIFF of to-day is happily relieved, by a recent statute, from attendance on the public hangman; but if in matters of debt he attaches the wrong man now, he is liable to the more serious and uncertain penalty of an action at law. But all that is by the way. This digression into matters Shrieval, having in 1874 personally served the Office, was one into which I naturally, but perhaps, all too readily, fell, and we will, therefore, at once return to our more immediate subject.

We have seen two great powers, largely independent of each other,—the Secular and the Religious,—firmly planted side by side by the Norman Conqueror. True, they had subsisted together, in comparative amity, certainly with little of absolute discord, for some centuries previously: but forward from that date the Church grew in wealth and social status; until at length a full half of the entire kingdom was under the finger and thumb of one Religious Order or another.

This state of things had gone on almost unchecked, except by such statutes as those of Mortmain, Præmunire, &c. Vast possessions and increasing power brought with them pretensions and assumptions, which continually placed the State and the Church in collision: until, as we all know, the whole ecclesiastical edifice crumbled to its base under the harsh and mercenary grasp of King HENRY VIII. To some two or three of these strifes in our own city and neighbourhood, it will be my province now more particularly to allude.

I conceive that in the first instance the authority of the Church, as represented by the BISHOP at his Norman CATHEDRAL of ST. JOHN'S, and by the Abbot at his Benedictine MONASTERY of ST. WERBURGH, was intended to be exercised through the temporal arm of the State, as represented by the Sheriffs and officers of the Earldom. Be that as it may, however, it is clear that a century had not elapsed, before the ecclesiastical arm was openly displayed, aye and felt, too,—to the exclusion, almost, of the secular element, as we shall presently see.

The first Abbots were apparently nominated with the previous knowledge and assent of the Norman Earls; but ROBERT DE

HASTINGS, the 6th Abbot, elected in 1186, had no such secular sanction. He was probably, if we may gather anything from his name, a Sussex or Kentish man; certainly he was a friend and favourite of BALDWIN, then Archbishop of Canterbury, and received the appointment to this Abbey, along with his patron's benediction, at the Altar of Canterbury Cathedral.

But RANDLE BLUNDEVILLE was wielding the sword of the Earldom at this date, and was not the man to brook insult or contempt from any one, not even from an Archbishop. Little of stature, but mighty of stomach,—one of the foremost men of England in his day,—he not only knew his own mind, but could speak and maintain it too; even though HENRY II., his liege lord, or even the Pope himself, were at issue with him in his controversies.

A busy man and a notable was this Norman Earl RANDLE. The story of his life, well and truthfully told by such a chronicler as Mr. FREEMAN, would be a treat to read, but it must not be attempted here. He was the founder of our Cheshire Castle of BEESTON; he built the Staffordshire Castle of Chartley; and the proud Abbey of Dieulacresse, in the same county, owes its existence immediately to him.

To give you an idea of the mettle this good Earl was made of, it will suffice to say that, when King HENRY was weak enough to authorise the collection of Peter's Pence for the Pope, this Earl not only refused to pay the tax himself but threatened the collectors with untold penalties, if they dared to touch a single penny within the range of his proud County of CHESTER. And he carried his point, in spite of King and Ecclesiastics; for during his long rule over the towns and broad acres of CHESHIRE, this his tight little Palatinate was the one red spot of old England that said emphatically "nay" to the Vatican demand! History has not favoured us with any details of the struggle between the Earl and the Archbishop, as to the Abbey of St. WERBURGH's; though we may be sure that, when BALDWIN came to CHESTER the next year, and paid a short visit of state to his favourite and nominee the new ABBOT, there was at least a sharp passage of words between the PRIMATE and

the EARL. But there was more than mere recrimination and debate. Each of the disputants had the courage of his opinions; and for years the war of words went fiercely on: until, on the death of BALDWIN, Earl RANDLE appealed at once to his successor, Arch-Bishop HUBERT, by whom the unfortunate Abbot was finally deposed in favour of the Earl's nominee. And thus ended the first recorded local pitched battle between the Church and the State.

If ROBERT DE HASTINGS was of southern extraction,—and names were far more local then than now,—the next of his successors with whom we have to do, Abbot THOMAS CAPENHURST, was as certainly a CHESHIRE man born, and was most likely a monk of CHESTER Abbey prior to his elevation. Either his lot had fallen on specially troublous times, or he was known to be a man of weak and vacillating mind; for no sooner was he settled in his new dignity, than a brace of cormorants, ROGER MONTALT, Justice of Chester, and ROGER VENABLES, Baron of Kinderton, started up to pillage him and his fraternity.

The ancestors of each of these lordly robbers had given manors and other property to ST. WERBURGH's Abbey; and these estates, improved no doubt in the interim by the industry of the Monks, the "worthies" named at once set themselves at all risks to recover. Fair means and foul were indifferently resorted to; military force even was used to intimidate the poor Abbot, who,—to buy peace,—had to give up some of the Monastery's most cherished possessions to those mercenary wretches! The story goes, however,—it is a monkish story, I grant,—that the vengeance of Heaven was poured out on those two spoilers of churches, and visited each of them with sudden and violent deaths. All we can positively say is, that their deaths did follow quickly upon the wrongs of which they are here accused. Similar acts of plunder were committed by WILLIAM LA ZOUCH, another Justice of CHESTER, a few years afterwards; and finally Abbot CAPENHURST, worn out and broken-hearted, laid down his weary bones in the Chapter House of the Abbey.

Of a different stamp, and of a brighter career, was CAPENHURST's successor, Abbot SIMON OF WHITCHURCH; who was elected by his brother monks during the usurpation of the Earldom by his

more celebrated namesake, SIMON DE MONTFORD. LUKE DE TANNEY, another Justice of CHESTER, taking advantage of MONTFORD's temporary absence, took military and forced possession of the Abbey, and, says the record, "wasted the revenues by the most scandalous profligacy." What was the sort of justice meted out to the poor by these law-defying lawyers, who could thus openly pounce like vultures upon such lofty prey, is a question that must be left to the dark region of conjecture. Thank GOD! we can point to no such enormities as this in our own day,—on the contrary, if there be one thing more than another in which England stands pre-eminent among the nations of modern Europe, it is in the dignified lives and spotless integrity of her honoured bench of Judges.

MONTFORD no sooner heard of this outrage of TANNEY's than, usurper though he was, he made the Judge disgorge his ill-gotten plunder, and at once ratified the Abbot's election. PRINCE EDWARD, however, the *true* Earl, having soon after this regained possession of CHESTER Castle, deprived the new Abbot of his position. But in a short time, peace and friendship were established between them; and we find recorded that two casks of curious old wine were sent by the Prince's orders, from the Castle to the Abbey, to replace two that had been emptied out of the cellars there by the armed servitors of the Prince! Efforts were again made, as in the last abbacy, to recover possession of lands conveyed in previous reigns to ST. WERBURGH'S Monastery; but the verdict went against the conspirators in the King's Court at Westminster.

SIMON DE WHITCHURCH was lucky in his law-suits: but with power comes pride, and with success comes too frequently arrogance or something worse. Accordingly we find my lord Abbot, probably misliking, and not it must be admitted without cause, the specimens of justice he had met with in the early Judges, set up an opposition Court of his own.

In the year 1848, when the late learned antiquary, Mr. W. H. BLACK, was poring over the parchments at that time preserved in the Castle of CHESTER, he found a roll of pleas from the City of CHESTER, dated in 1288 (17th EDWARD I.), nearly six hundred years ago. Foremost amongst the complaints put forth in that roll

was one, that "the Abbot of CHESTER had lately set up a *new Court* among his tenants, without the Northgate at CHESTER, to the nuisance of our lord the King's Court." Here we get our first peep at the Court of ST. THOMAS, to which, even now, the tenants of our DEAN and CHAPTER owe suit and service, and before which many yet living have been summoned, and have personally appeared.

In 1388, just a century after the date of the roll here referred to, an incident occurred, curiously illustrative of the newly-fledged Court of ST. WERBURGH, or ST. THOMAS, as it was in later times indifferently called. Abbot HENRY DE SUTTON, who was the 19th of the 27 Abbots of ST. WERBURGH, and who ruled there from 1386 to 1413, united in his own person the double character of lawyer and divine. Wonderful fellows, men of versatile powers, coupled at times with great capacity for command, were those mediæval Churchmen. Soldier bishops, abbot lawyers, mitred princes, clerical statesmen, prelatical chancellors, meet the eye on many a page of early English history. Combinations of this sort were perhaps necessities *then*, but they could scarcely exist, or indeed be tolerated, now.

Abbot SUTTON, then, was one of the King's Justices of CHESTER; and whatever may be said of him as a clerical ruler, he certainly shone forth in his legal character. We find him winning, and that against odds in no way to be despised, the only two law-suits in which I have thus far traced him as being engaged. He was summoned, in 1390, before DUKE HUMPHREY OF GLOUCESTER, the "good Duke Humphrey," who was at that time Chief Justice of CHESHIRE, to answer for his contempt in placing JOHN DE GREY in the Cheshire Rectory of ASTBURY, and this in the teeth of the manorial lord, VENABLES, Baron of KINDERTON. This dispute had been angrily seething for nearly 200 years, and had grown warmer as it advanced; each lapse of the living, and each new presentation, adding fuel to the fire. It was the old struggle between the lay and clerical powers, which is even yet agitating some countries of Europe.

Previous Abbots had perhaps coquetted with the foe, for these Barons of KINDERTON were not, from some points of view,

undesirable men to keep as *quasi* friends; but the Church of ST. WERBURGH had a man at the helm, at last, in stern HENRY DE SUTTON. Donning his legal over his clerical armour, he threw himself unreservedly into the fray: he ransacked the Abbey chest and the muniment room of the Palatinate for musty parchments and, until then, unheard of grants: and with subtle arguments striking dumb his opponents, he soon satisfied the DUKE that he and his monks were the true Simon Pures, and that the VENABLESES were the rankest of impostors and usurpers. And so Master JOHN DE GREY became and remained, in spite of the lay patron and of all comers, Rector of ASTBURY.

Twenty years more roll by over the Abbot's head, and, in 1410, he comes again to the front, and again, oddly enough, in connection with this same Rector, JOHN DE GREY. In the interim, it appears, the reverend JOHN had died, leaving behind him a nuncupative will, a class of document always open to question, and not now admissible in law. In this Will he had left £10 to his old patrons, the Abbot and Convent of ST. WERBURGH, expressly towards building a stone bridge over the *Gowy* at TRAFFORD, on the eastern outer borders of our City. The *Domesday Book* gives *Trogford* and *Traford* as the names of this and the next township; and we may pretty safely assume that the River *Gowy* was there crossed by a trogh- or tree-ford (called a "clapper" in the county Devon), which the stone bridge alluded to in the Will was then intended to supersede.

RICHARD DE MANLEY appears as Counsel for the Abbot and Convent of CHESTER, the plaintiffs in this suit: he was a native of the county, being a son of JOHN MANLEY, Esquire, Lord of the Manor of MANLEY, near FRODSHAM. He occurs in our local records as Escheator of CHESHIRE, in the very year of the trial, 1410, when with my lord the Abbot at his back he maintained the curious action at law, of which we are now about to speak. We may be quite sure that, as he was knighted soon after this trial, RICHARD DE MANLEY was a lawyer of considerable reputation; indeed, his being selected to support this Cause is good evidence of the fact: but it is almost equally certain that another and more clerkly hand still, behind the scenes, cast the bullets which it was his duty simply to fire.

I have seen the pleadings at this trial, which was in fact a legal duel between Church and State,—the Corporation of CHESTER on the one side, and the Abbey on the other, contesting the rights and jurisdiction of the new Court of ST. THOMAS. The proceedings are quaint, to say the least of them; and deserve to some-day see the light through the press, in which case, doubtless, the original Latin text and a good English translation of the Trial will be given side by side. Meanwhile the SOCIETY shall have the story put before it in a simpler and more modern dress. It appears from the pleadings that one JOHN DE PODINGTON, the quondam servant but now Executor of the deceased Rector, JOHN DE GREY, had neglected to pay the said legacy of £10 to the Abbey in conformity with his master's Will,—a piece of contempt not likely to be tamely submitted to by one of Abbot HENRY's litigious temperament and high calibre.

Accordingly, the Court of ST. THOMAS was solemnly opened in due form, in the then court-house, situate over the great ABBEY GATE (now the Bishop's Registry); and thither a jury was, on the 23rd of June, summoned and forthwith sworn before NICHOLAS, the Abbot's seneschal. No doubt, the Will itself, in charge of an apparitor from either LICHFIELD or YORK, for we had no Wills Court in CHESTER then, was produced at the trial. Of course, too, PODINGTON, the unjust steward and defendant, was a prominent figure in the group assembled in that then noble room. Ominously near him stood JOHN DENTITH, the Abbot's gaoler, with the keys of the adjacent Prison dangling from his girdle. Lawyer MANLEY also would be there, with the proctors, clerks, ushers, tipstaves, and other officers common to such gatherings; and at the rear of all a motley crowd of citizens, friends or otherwise of the Court and its intended victim. The witnesses probably were few, for the case would need little evidence and less argument from the prosecuting counsel in that, the Abbot's own Court; and, indeed, so far as can be seen, the only possible defence was a mere sullen defiance. The offending executor was soon convicted by the jury; and by the fiat of the seneschal, he was in a few minutes safely lodged in Master DENTITH's custody in the Prison (the cell occupied in after-days by MARSH the Martyr) close to the Court, until he should satisfy the plaintiff's just demands under the Will.

Luckily or unluckily for the prisoner, he happened to be a sworn Freeman of CHESTER City; and as such his person was sacred, in the eyes of that city at all events, against attachment by either the Abbot or his myrmidons.

Ill news travels fast, and the distance was not great between the Court-house of ST. THOMAS and the then COMMON HALL of the City, which adorned that not now very aristocratic thoroughfare known as COMMONHALL LANE. A messenger brings the news to His Worship the Mayor,—(then, it may be, sitting with his brother Aldermen and Justices in their ancient City Hall)—that the franchises of CHESTER had been insolently invaded by the high-handed Abbot; and that a Freeman of CHESTER was actually at that moment a prisoner in the clutches of that proud son of the Church!

Reprisals were at once determined on. Accordingly, during the night of that same 23rd of June, 1410, being the third day of the Abbot's great Fair, JOHN DE EWLOE, then Mayor of CHESTER, with JOHN TORPORLEIGH and HUGH MULTON, his two Sheriffs, and three Aldermen at his heels, sallied forth from their Common Hall. Thence, in solemn form, supported by the visible emblems of civic authority, the Sword and Mace, they came with many citizens to the gate of the said Monastery, and demanded and took away the body of the prisoner from the custody of the Abbot's gaoler. Not that poor PODINGTON was much the better for the rescue; for he was forthwith marched behind the two City Sheriffs, in the charge of their Sergeants-at-Mace, and safely lodged in perhaps less agreeable quarters in the City Prison at the NORTHGATE; and there he remained, in deeper durance vile, pending the issues of the conflict. This was the first scene of the drama.

And now, acting again by their proctor or counsel, RICHARD DE MANLEY, the Abbot and Convent re-enter the arena, but this time in the superior court, presided over by the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench. To this high tribunal, the Mayor, two Sheriffs, and Aldermen were duly cited, and did actually appear before the full Bench, the Cause being again in open court reheard. No doubt there was an abundance of swearing *pro* and *con*, some of it true, some false; but the Judges finally decided that St.

WERBURGH was entitled to have her Courts and prison, with right of execution, in like manner with the older courts of the EARL and of the CITY.

In accordance with this decision, and under the orders of SIR HENRY HULSE and the rest of the King's Judges, on the 9th of March following, ROGER POTTER having in the interim become Mayor of CHESTER, there was another solemn conclave of the MAYOR and CORPORATION in Commonhall Lane. This time, however, they met, not as belligerents, but as soldiers on parole, honourably beaten in the fray, and loyally accepting their defeat.

The SHERIFF repaired to the NORTHGATE Prison a second time with his officers, and brought forth the wretched executor. And then, not as previously in the night time, but in the full light of day, the Mayor, Sheriffs, Aldermen, and Commonalty conducted him back to the ABBEY GATE, and surrendered him to the keeping of his ecclesiastical gaoler. There he remained a prisoner until the 4th of April following, when he was freed by the bail or main-prize of one JOHN BRAYNE, of Bridgenorth, "out of reverence," says the record, "for the Feast of Passover." This seems to indicate that there was at that date a sort of annual gaol delivery at Easter, at all events for debt,—an echo perhaps of the Romano-Jewish custom referred to by Pilate previous to the Crucifixion,—“Ye have a custom, that I should release unto you one at the Passover.” But however that may be, it is certain our CHESTER Freeman was so released; and thus fell the curtain on the final act of a local drama that was no doubt the whole town's talk for many a long day.

Passing over the somewhat ugly revelations in the City Portmote Court in the days of Abbot OLDHAM about 1485, we move three years forward to the year 1488, when further ill-blood between the City and the Abbey enlivens our local records.

The Monks had recently completed their new Church of ST. NICHOLAS, partially visible to us of to-day in the outer shell of the MUSIC HALL; and had allotted its use to the parish of ST. OSWALD, intending to absorb the old Parish Church into their newly edified ABBEY. But the parishioners were thoroughly adverse to the change, and they enlisted the aid of the MAYOR and CORPORATION, who were always quite ready to try a lance

with their great clerical rivals. Between them they kept up a harassing fire at the new Abbot, SIMON RIPLEY, which ended in his retracing his steps, and in the return of the parishioners to their old house of prayer. This they continued to occupy without challenge for nearly 400 years, or until 1880, when ST. OSWALD'S, as a distinct Parish Church within the Walls of the CATHEDRAL ceased so to be, and it now forms the newly arranged parish of ST. OSWALD with ST. THOMAS'.

During the ten years that followed, the rebuilding of the ABBEY went slowly on. The old Norman central Tower had meanwhile vanished; and, by 1507, the ground was cleared away for the erection of the new Tower. The MAYOR and CORPORATION were present in state at the laying of the Foundation Stone; and a new official Mace, bought evidently in honour of this important ceremony, was first used on the occasion. And this enables me to record a curious fact which transpired, bearing upon this very subject, just while Sir GILBERT SCOTT'S workmen were engaged under the base of this 1507 Tower, during the great Restoration of 1868-76,—of which the decorations in the North Aisle of the Nave are even yet (1883) still in progress, thanks to the munificence of Mrs. ROBERT PLATT, of STALEYBRIDGE.

The workmen were, at the time I refer to, sinking for a base for the new Organ Screen under the northern arch of this great Tower, when the clerk of the works, the late Mr. JAMES FRATER, came upon the foundations of the two northern piers supporting the Tower. And what did we find here? I say *we*, for Mr. FRATER was good enough always to keep me well posted up in each of his discoveries, and I was thus present almost at the moment when this one was made. What did we find? Why, that, in order to form solid foundations for the 16th century Tower, the wicked monks of that day had actually gone to their graveyard close by, had taken up the freshest, most massive, and best of the coped stones that covered their sacred dead, and carried them bodily to the new works!

And what then? Why, first chipping down the beautiful raised crosses with which loving hands had adorned those chaste memorials, they laid them down side by side,—deep down upon the virgin rock,—four or five in a row, head to foot; placing

another similar row again at right angles upon the first, and repeating the process until the foundations of the two piers had been well and truly laid. I don't find it recorded that there was any actual remonstrance made, on the City's part, against this sacrilege and spoliation; but most people will agree that there ought to have been. And I may go further and say, that the belief, heretofore warm within me,—that greater sanctity for the dead was shown in mediæval days than in our own,—thereby sustained a shock from which it will not very readily recover. Let me just parenthetically add that, in proof of the foregoing statements, Mr. FRATER was good enough to take out two or three of the more accessible of these ancient slabs, replacing them with other masonry; and that these slabs have now been placed in a position within the Precincts where they may be seen and studied by present and future enquirers.

Come we now to the year 1511, at which date JOHN BIRCHENSHAW was Abbot and THOMAS SMITH was Mayor of CHESTER. In this year, says WEBB in the *Vale Royal*, "there was great debate between the Citizens and the Abbot;" but I have not been able to discover the ground of the quarrel. It lasted, though, for several years, and the Abbot stood suspended from his office until the trouble was ended, as it ultimately seems to have been, in his favour.

Great changes were at hand. Towards the close of that century, the Reformation having transpired in the interval, and the ancient Abbey having developed into a CATHEDRAL, I find, in our Municipal Records, traces of ill-will peeping out between the Corporation and the new ecclesiastical *regime*. The dispute was mainly about the frontage to NORTHGATE STREET between the Great and Little Abbey Gates, and in front of the Abbey wall westward. The City Archives are silent as to the final issue of the feud. I conclude, therefore, that the clerics again had the best of it. It was probably to this, and other previous triumphs, that we may ascribe, in some degree, the daring and overt act of war to which attention must now be called.

From apparently the earliest days of our Local Municipal life, it had been the custom, as it still most properly continues to be, for the MAYOR and CORPORATION, accompanied by the

emblems of their official dignity, to attend divine service at the CATHEDRAL on days of state and civic ceremonial. And not only so: it had also been the rule to bear the City Sword *erect*, point upwards, as well as the City Mace, in front of Mr. Mayor, conformably with the great Charter of King HENRY VII. But the CATHEDRAL and its precincts formed with their other property in BOUGHTON and UPPER NORTHGATE the manor of the DEAN and CHAPTER, as in the DOMESDAY BOOK it was shown to be the bailiwick of the Bishop; and even Mayors and Sheriffs must be made to refrain from acts inimical to Chapter rights. Possibly, though evidence of the fact is wanting, the practice of our civic rulers in this regard had beforetime given rise both to question and remonstrance. But in 1606, the Chapter authorities could contain themselves no longer, and so, war to the knife was suddenly proclaimed.

The *Vale Royal*, written by WILLIAM WEBB, a clerk in the Mayor's Court, and probably an eye-witness of the whole affair, says, "In the moneth of January, the Sword being carried before the Maior through the MINSTER CHURCH, it was put down by one of the Prebends, which was the cause of some controversy, but the same was presently appeased by the Bishop." Thus far the *Vale Royal*. I have, in my own library, a manuscript chronology of CHESTER events down to the year 1625, when the compiler probably died. He says, "In the year (1606) controversies betwixte the Citizens and the Prebyns in the Cathedrall Church, as concerninge their Authoritye in the Church, which afterwards was qualified."

Turning now to the MS. Records at the TOWN HALL, which I have myself read and in a large sense transcribed *verbatim*, I find, in the Assembly Book for January, 1606, the following entry:—"It is ordered that a letter from the Maior, thaldermen, and others of this citie shal be written vnto the right hon'ble the lo: Chauncelour of England, for intimacion to his lope. of Mr. Sharpe's late abvse in pulling downe the sworde w'ch was carryed before the said Maior in the church of St. WERBURGH. And to beseeche his Ho'r's favour towards this citie therein, And that afterwarde such further course shalbe devysed, And that alsoe a l're shalbe written to the same p'pose vnto S'r PEETER

WARBURTON, Knighte, to geve him adu'tizemente of the p'misses, and to desier his favour and aduise therein."

There was no *Chester Courant* or *Chester Chronicle* in those days, so the anonymous scribblers had rather a poor time of it, and had some difficulty it may well be supposed in airing their respective crotchets either on one side or the other. There were, however, one or two irrepressibles, who would have their say in spite of every obstacle, as the following entry from the Corporation Books pretty clearly proves:—"Alsoe it is ordered, that warninge and admonition shalbe given publickly that noe free citizen, nor other p'son whatsoever, at any tyme hereafter shall make, write, divulge, p'nownce, nor sett oute anie scandalous libells or ignominious writings, nor geve oute nor vtter anie vndecente speeches tendinge to the defamation, slaunder, or exprobaton of the said Mr. Sharpe, under paine of severe punishmente.

"And further that all freemen and inhabbitants in the same citie shall doe their beste to learne and fynde oute by what p'son a carde written vpon and caste into the vtter Pentice within the said Citie, which did conteigne words of disgrace againste the said Mr. Sharpe, was soe written and caste into the pentice, to thende such p'son maie condingly be punished for the same."

The CORPORATION having put their case formally before the Lord Chancellor, it came on for hearing in due course before Sir Richard Lewkenor and Sir H. Townshend, two of the Judges of Assize, in the ancient Exchequer Court at the Castle of CHESTER, when the whole question was gone into in presence of all the parties. Whatever may have been the exact line of defence set up by the Dean and Chapter, it altogether failed, as we shall at once see.

The Award of the Judges is a curious document, and has never been printed, or perhaps even read by any soul now living, until it was turned out for the purposes of this Paper. I give it therefore in their lordships' own words, under date 17th April, 1607.

After stating the Cause to be between the Mayor and Citizens of CHESTER on the ons part, and PEETER SHARPE and ROGER

RAVENSCROFT, two of the Prebendaries of CHESTER CATHEDRAL, on the other, My Lords proceed:—

“Upon letters from the right honourable the Lord Chauncelour of England, to us directed and deliured, for the hearinge, apprasinge and endinge of some variaunces and questions latelie arisen and growne between the said p'ties, concerning the puttinge down of the Swoorde, (carried before the said Maior in the cathedrall Church within the said citie of Chester), by the said Peeter Sharpe, the xiiijth daie of January laste paste (1606), And for the shuttinge of the west doore in the said cathedrall church upon the feast daie of the Purification of the Virgine Mary laste paste, by the said Roger Ravenscroft, againste the said Maior and Citizens, at their repaire to the said church the same daie, attendinge the Corps of Nicholas Massie, late Sword-bearer [and formerley Sheriff] in the said Citie, Wee accordingly called the said p'ties before us this daie in the CASTLE OF CHESTER, for the hearinge their Allegations in the said Cause.

At which daie the Recorder of the said Citie and diu'se others, Aldermen and Citizens of the said Citie (PHILLIP PHILLIPS now Maior of the said Citie beinge then sicke),—And the said Peter Sharpe, Roger Ravenscrofte, and David Yale, Doctor of the Civill Lawe, three of the Prebendaries of the said Cathedrall Church, app'ed before us.

Whereupon, and upon openinge of the dislikes and Complaintes of the said Cittizens againste the said Mr. Peter Sharpe and Maister Roger Ravenscrofte, for wronges alleged to be by them offerred unto the said Maior and cittizens, by puttinge downe the said swoorde, and shuttinge the Church doore of the said Church as aforesaid; and upon hearinge of some witnesses examyned concerninge the same causes, It most clearly app'ed unto us to be true that the said Peeter Sharpe, the said xiiijth daie of January, did putt downe with his hand the swoorde Carryed before the said Maior in the said Cathedral church, And that the said Roger Ravenscrofte did likewyse cause the said Churchdoore of the same Cathedrall church to be shutt againste the said Maior and Cittizens vpon the said feaste daie of the Purification last paste, as aforesaid.

And it also app'ed vnto vs, that it hath bene vsed that the Maior of Chester for the tyme beinge hath had the swoorde Carryed before him in the said cathedrall church at his Cominge into the same church to hear diuine Service and Sermon, or vpon other necessarie and iuste occasions, and at his goinge oute of and from the same. And that the same west church doore hath likewise been vsed to be open for the said Maior and Cittizens at such tyme as they have accompanied anie funerall or dead bodies into and out off the said Church.

And wee have alsoe scene and perused an order made in the said Cause, sithence the said swoorde putt downe and church doore shutt, as aforesaid, by the righte Reu'ende father in god, GEORGE lo. Busloppe of CHESTER, and others the Kinges Ma'ties Commissioners in Causes Eccles'iall for appeasing of the said controu'sies, to p'vente further troubles, disorders, and breaches of the peace, in or towchinge the said Cause.

Therefore, and to that ende that unitie, love, and peace betweene the said Maior and Cittizens, Prebendaries and others the members of the said Church, maie be kepte and p'served, and that all occasions of further disturbance, or misdemenor to be hereafter attempted or Committed, may be staied and p'vented for the tyme to come. We doe order that the said Maior and cittizens and their successors, at all tynes hereafter, shall freelie and quietlie passe and repasse and goe through the said great weste church doore into the said Church, at the tyme of anie funerall or attendance vpon any dead corps to be buried in the same church.

And we doe furthermore strictly order that when, and that as often as, the Maior of the same citie for the tyme beinge shall hereafter repaier to the said church for the heringe of diuine Service or Sermon, or vpon anie other iuste occasion, havinge his swoorde carried before him in the said church or p'cintes or lib'ties of the same, That then and soe often, neither the said Prebendaries nor anie other officer or Minister of the said Church shall by themselves or anie other by their or anie of their means, Concente, or p'curement, stoppe, staie, or hinder the said Maior or his swoordbearer, or either of them, in or for the carryinge up of the said swoorde, in the said Church at anie tyme hereafter; but shall p'mitte and Sufferr the said Maior and swoordbearer quietlie to carrie the

swoorde of the said Citie, with the pointe upp, in the said Church, as hereto fore hath bene vsed and accustomed, until it shalbe otherwise ordered, adiudged, or decreed between the said p'ties or their Successors, vpon some Judiciall hearinge, or by ordinarie Course of Lawe, &c., &c.

R. LEWKENOR.

H. TOWNSHEND."

The right here claimed, and solemnly established in a court of law before the two Judges of CHESTER, whose names are hereto attached, 270 years ago, is still an appanage of, and a distinction exercised by, the MAYOR and CORPORATION of CHESTER. And it is worthy of remark that, when the coat of arms was confirmed to the city in the reign of ELIZABETH, the crest allotted to it was "the sword of state, erect, and with the point upwards," exactly as it was set forth in the foregoing Award.

We see clearly enough from all this how greatly the Mayor and Commonalty esteemed the prerogative conferred upon them of old by the Dignity of the Sword—viz.: to pass through the body of the CATHEDRAL, as doubtless their predecessors had usually aforetime done through the Nave of St. WERBURGH's Abbey, without lawful let or hindrance of either the Abbot and his Monks, or of their Reformed successors, the Dean and Chapter. It was a prescriptive right the Citizens of CHESTER had no disposition to surrender,—not even to so powerful and august a body as they found themselves confronted with in the persons of the two prebendaries, Maisters SHARPE and RAVENSCROFT. They, the CORPORATION, and the whole City with them, had come to regard the great West Door and Nave of the CATHEDRAL as a sort of King's highway, so far as their being the State or official entrance to the QUIRE and St. OSWALD's Church. And thus, when the gordian knot was tied with so high a hand by the Dean and Prebends, and the fathers of the City found the West Door barred against them and their honoured Sword, CHESTER determined, in the person of its Mayor, boldly to cut the knot again, and to determine once for all the unseemly quarrel. Appeal was made to the High Court of Chancery,—the Cause was tried,—and the result proved that the City was well within its right, and that their clerical friends were altogether in the wrong,—a Judgment that holds good on that particular point down to our own day.

Whether the "unitie, love, and peace," so naively suggested to the disputants by the Judges, actually at once resulted or not, we have no means of knowing; but it is certain that, since then, no very serious bitterness or conflict has occurred between the leaders Ecclesiastical and leaders Civil of our good old City. Contrasting, too, the struggles of those days with the almost absolute "unitie, love, and peace" now animating alike the Cathedral Body and the City, we may feel abundantly thankful that our lot has, after all, not fallen on very unpleasant places. Instead of bickering and contending with each other, in courts of law or in personal encounter, as of old, jealousies and feuds of this nature have passed away, we may hope, for ever.

Where the Abbot's Court, with its attendant Prison and gaoler's lodge, in those days stood, a broader CHURCH and more earnest STATE, moving locally hand in hand, have now planted a handsome and appropriate block of building, to be known to present and future generations of CESTRIANS as the Royal GRAMMAR SCHOOL of KING HENRY the EIGHTH!

And who shall say no to such a change? Surely not we who, as members of an ARCHITECTURAL, HISTORIC, and (shall I add?) Learned SOCIETY, have an eye to the adornment, as well as to the intellectual growth of this old-world City. Rather let us wish "God Speed!" to the Movement, praying that the good and true men at the helm therein may live to reap the fruit of their loyal, zealous, and self-denying labours!



A Brief Abstract of the Proceedings of the Society,

(CONTINUED FROM VOL. III., page 342).

1864.

Dec. 14. The last Ordinary Meeting for the year was held in the Old City Library, where a large gathering of Members and Friends assembled to hear Dr. BRUSHFIELD read a scholarly and interesting *first* Paper on "The Roman Remains of CHESTER, with a particular description of those discovered in Bridge Street, in July, 1863." This Paper, as well as the subsequent one from the Doctor's pen, will be found printed in full in the SOCIETY'S *Journal*, vol. iii., pp. 1-106.

The Lecture was illustrated with large Cartoon Drawings by Dr. Brushfield's own facile pencil; and the fine series of Roman Relics found during 1863 on the site treated of in the Lecture, &c., were placed for inspection on the table, and examined with unusual interest by the Members present.

The LECTURER explained that the subject had so grown upon his hands that, at the solicitation of the Secretaries, he had divided the Paper into two parts: and by this process he would be able, at the next Meeting, to bring his remarks to a more complete and systematic termination.

A number of small Abbey Counters (otherwise known as Nuremberg Tokens) recently found during alterations at Saughton Grange, were, by the favour of Lord Westminster, exhibited at the Meeting.

The lateness of the hour prevented any discussion; but a vote of thanks was cordially passed to the enthusiastic Lecturer.

1865.

Jan. 25. Dr. BRUSHFIELD delivered the *second* portion of his valuable Lecture on "The Roman Remains of Chester."

The Rev. Canon BLOMFIELD occupied the chair, and there was again an exceptionally large attendance. This Paper was fully given in the SOCIETY'S *Journal*, vol. iii., pp. 1-106, and may be safely referred to and trusted by all who were not able to be present at this and the previous Meeting of the Society.

The LECTURER referred gratefully to the help he had received from Mr. Thomas Hodgkinson, the architect for the new buildings in Bridge Street east; and from Mr. John PEACOCK and Mr. Lockwood, the former of whom had contributed several telling sketches and models of that most fruitful of all Chester archaeological sites.

The Rev. CHAIRMAN, alluding to what he called the "tight" passage of arms between the Lecturer and Mr. (afterwards Sir William) Tite, observed that the result of the controversy was that the latter gentleman had, since the Doctor's Lecture, seen fit to change his former opinions on the subject; and had announced through him (the Canon) that he had come round to Dr. BRUSHFIELD'S views.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman and Lecturer terminated the proceedings.

Feb. 14. The fourth monthly Meeting of the Session was held at the Society's Rooms, St Peter's Churchyard, on the evening named, when the Rev. Canon BLOMFIELD occupied the chair. Mr. ELLIS A. DAVIDSON (head master of the Government Schools of Science and Art) read the first portion of a Paper on "The History of Books and their Engravings," and exhibited a large number of Ancient MSS. and Books in illustration of his Paper. Amongst them was an original Hebrew Sacred Scroll of the Law, written on 23 yards of parchment (*circa* 1034), lent for the purpose by A. Goldsmid, Esq., London.

Mr. DAVIDSON said:—"When we reflect on the influence Books have had on the whole history of the human mind; when we consider that by means of Books knowledge acquired in one age is

left to another to be added to and improved upon ; and, above all, when we reflect how by the means of Books, and our power of multiplying them, we are enabled to spread the WORD OF GOD over the entire face of the earth, we cannot but feel that the art of Printing, taken as one grand whole, has done more for the progress of civilization and education than any other invention." After describing the various substances used in past ages in the manufacture of paper, as explained by Pliny and other writers ; and shewing that the Chinese were acquainted with the art long prior to the 10th century, Mr. DAVIDSON explained that the most ancient of all Books—the Hebrew Scrolls of the Law—have always been written on the skins of animals or parchment, and are written on the latter to this day ; nor is there any information of Hebrew written Books having existed in any other form than Scrolls. The complete Book, such as the Pentateuch, would be called "Sepher," whilst a separate portion such as Esther, Lamentations, the Song of Solomon, Ruth, and Ecclesiastes, are called "Megillah," from "golal" to roll ; and similarly we have the word volume, from "volvo" to roll. Mr. DAVIDSON then spoke of the supply of Books in the middle ages before the introduction of Printing, which were written by clerical scholars. The invention of Printing was next touched upon. It was a most difficult thing to say who invented that Art. The first name they met with as associated with the printing art was Laurence Coster, who was the son of the Custos of the Cathedral at Haerlem. The account given by Hadrian Junius was that, walking in a wood near the city, he began to cut some letters upon the rind of a beech tree, which, for fancy sake, having impressed on paper he printed one or two lines as specimens for his grandchildren, the sons of his daughter, to follow. Types of wood were made, but Coster carried his invention no further than the separate wooden types. Metal ones were afterwards made by John Guttenberg, who, with his brother, established a printing-house in Mentz. The honour of completing the discovery was due to Peter Schoeffer, a workman employed by Fust and Guttenberg.

The Lecturer expatiated upon the progress of the art to the present day, and spoke in glowing terms of the wonders that were being wrought by that mighty engine—the Press.

MR. W. W. FFOULKES, M.A., said: Schœfflin (*Vindiciæ typographiæ*) divides the invention of printing into three stages—block printing, printing with chiselled type, and printing with moulded type, the two latter constituting typography, properly so called. The first stage Schœfflin asserts was invented by Laurens Coster, at Haerlem. The second by John Guttenberg, at Mentz, about 1436; and the third also at Mentz, by Peter Schœffer, between the years 1450 and 1455. The discovery of the art of Printing being kept profoundly secret for some years, might account for the obscurity in which its origin was involved; while the importance which it afterwards acquired was sufficient to arouse the numerous claims, which in later years had been advanced by various writers, to the honour of its invention. Schœfflin, in arriving at the conclusions above mentioned, seemed to have weighed very fully all the arguments *pro* and *con*.

MR. DAVIDSON, after replying to some of Mr. Ffoulkes' remarks, said that he had lately seen in London a copy of a rare local work, *Chester's Triumph in Honour of her Prince*, of which original work he believed not more than one or two copies were known. On a flyleaf in a copy of the first edition of the Welsh Bible, sent to him for exhibition, he noticed the statement that it was printed by a Nonconformist Bookseller of Chester, one Peter Bodvel. He hoped some member of the SOCIETY might be able to throw some further light on both these subjects.

MR. T. HUGHES said he would accept the Lecturer's challenge, by glancing at some of the more local phases of his interesting subject. He had brought with him from his own Library specimens of the earliest CHESTER Printing known; one being a handbill of WILLIAM THORP, a Bookseller of Chester, during the time of the Protectorate,—and this was, so far as he knew and believed, the very earliest relic extant of the printer's art in Chester. He also exhibited a fine copy of Randle Holme's *Academy of Armoury*, a quaint work in folio, printed and published in Chester in 1688, the year of William III.'s accession to the Throne. Another special curiosity he had to bring forward was a Document more than 200 years earlier in date than the oldest effort of Caxton or his contemporaries. This was a MS. Commission of Assize held at Chester, apparently in March, 1256, (17th Edward I.) a Document which

he presumed had at one time belonged to the Exchequer Court of the County. It referred, among other matters, to some disturbance at Poynton, near Stockport, some ecclesiastical disputes at Astbury, &c., &c.; and among the names of early Cheshire men recorded were the following:—The Bishop of Chester, the Abbot of Chester, Richard de Stockport, John de Mottram, Geoffrey de Bredbury, William de Mainwaring, Jordan de Titherington, Richard le Grosvenor, &c., &c. The book referred to by the Lecturer, *Chester's Triumph in Honour of her Prince*, had been reprinted by the Chetham Society, and a copy was in his (Mr. Hughes') possession. PETER BODVEL, the CHESTER Bookseller who published the Welsh Bible referred to by Mr. DAVIDSON, was not a Chester man, but an interloper in 1676 from some other place, who commenced business in this city in defiance of the then law. After numerous expensive trials, Bodvel had finally to make his peace with the local trade by purchasing his freedom as a member of the Stationers' Company, of which Guild he became the Alderman a few years afterwards.

The Rev. CHAIRMAN, in an appropriate speech, proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. DAVIDSON for his able Paper, which was cordially received, and the meeting separated.

Feb. 20. The second portion of the Paper was read at a Meeting of the SOCIETY held this evening.

Mr. DAVIDSON, after speaking of the numerous means by which Books have been illustrated, gave a rapid sketch of the history of Illumination from the earliest known period to its decline, after which he said:—In our own day there is a tendency to revive it, and to-night two of the finest illustrated works on the subject are on the table. Even at this early period of the evening I feel warned that every word I say is detaining you from examining these wonderful books. Those who are engaging in this delightful study, I would urge to bear in mind that every period has had its distinct style, and that the mere purchase of printed outlines and filling them up with colour is *not Illumination*. The whole thing is an absolute historic study; and you might as well introduce the characters of one reign in a work describing the events of another, as commit similar errors in art. The

letters of each period have their characteristics, so have the ornaments, whilst the treatment of the whole subject has varied with time, race, and country.

The LECTURER then passed on to review the early history of Wood Engraving, giving a detailed account of the two earliest woodcuts bearing dates that are known, facsimiles of which he passed round the room. The reason why the illustrations in the books of early date are so much inferior to the larger separate woodcuts, Mr. DAVIDSON explained to be that the Formschneiders, before the introduction of printing from types, had formed themselves into a sort of "trade union" for mutual protection. The engravers looked with contempt on the men who punched and cast their figures, but still feared that the growing art would injure their trade. The Printers wished to show the Artists that they could do without them; so that on the whole there must have been an absolute state of antagonism, and the book printers seem to have employed their type cutters, who were mere artizans, to execute their wood blocks as well as their letters. In proof of this, Mr. DAVIDSON referred to that wonderful book, the *Nuremburg Chronicle*, printed at Nuremburg in 1494; in which he said the type is excellent, whilst the cuts, of which there are vast numbers, are coarse to a degree. Another feature in this book, as indeed of most of the mediæval works, is the representation of the events of one period with the architectural features of another. Thus, Adam and Eve are driven out of Eden through a gateway having the ogee arch, crockets, and finial of the Decorated period of Gothic, the gate or door itself having handsome mediæval iron hinges!

A running commentary followed on the numerous books of art on the table, including Caxton's *Book of Chesse*, as reprinted by Figgins. The Lecturer touched on the various cuts and styles of Engraving, both on copper and wood, and concluded as follows:—In the 16th century the demand for wood-cuts reached its height, and it became for the time as popular as it has again become in our own day,—Bibles and classics, chronicles and romances, books of prayer and books of travels, calendars and caricatures, were adorned with cuts, which up to that period formed the only mode of illustration available for books. But in the midst of this popularity Copper-

plate Engraving arose, and owing to the refinement and softness of tone obtainable, that style won the hearts of all, and at once became a serious antagonist. Wood engraving began to be rapidly lowered from the high position it had attained, being now again executed by workmen; all the Artists of the day,—excepting Albert Durer and some of his school,—having deserted it in favour of the new art. It was only at the beginning of the present century, when Copperplate Engraving had not only reached its height, but had in its turn met with a rival in Steel Engraving,—and when Lithography had become well known,—that in the very face of all these, Wood Engraving was revived as the great medium for book illustration; and this renaissance took place in our own happy country.

Mr. DAVIDSON related the story and described the style of Thomas Bewick, whom he designated the “father of the revival.” But, he continued, “Bewick’s success, as an engraver of objects in natural history, was in the main owing to his perfect knowledge of his subject.” “Hence,” said he, “it is that the finest works on both wood and metal are those drawn if not actually engraved by the Artists themselves, who knew and felt their subject, instead of leaving the reproduction of their designs to the hands of others. This, too, is my reason for endeavouring to show practically the processes of Engraving and the mode of taking impressions, for some of these operations are easily acquired by amateurs; and if an Archæologist can with his own hand illustrate his Paper it adds a hundred-fold to its value.”

Mr. DAVIDSON next proceeded to show how printing from wood blocks is accomplished, and circulated the printing he had then and there done,—some pretty views of places of interest in Chester,—amongst the audience. He then related the history of Copperplate Engraving, including line engraving, etching, mezzotint, stippled, and aquatint, giving brief biographies of their exponents, and detailing the processes employed in each; and then in a small copper-plate press printed a piece of etching of his own designing,—one of the subjects being the Hebrew Scroll he had exhibited at the previous Lecture. He gave the history and processes of Lithography, and printed some very pretty views

from stone: next followed an account of glyphography and the then newly-discovered process of photo-lithography; for information concerning which, and for specimens, he rendered his thanks to Colonel Sir Henry James, the inventor. He also thanked Mr. A. Goldsmid, for his kind loan of the Hebrew Scroll; Messrs. Figgins for loan of specimens, and Mrs. Major Payne for some beautiful Chinese books; and so concluded his remarks, amid much applause.

The Rev. CHAIRMAN pronounced a high eulogium upon Mr. Davidson for the able way in which he had handled his Lecture, and the clever specimens of art he had produced in the room;—for shewing them, too, as he had done, the various methods and processes by which they were attained.

The proceedings concluded with a vote of thanks to Mr. Davidson and the exhibitors, which was cordially received.

Nov. 7. The closing Meeting of the year was held as usual, when Mr. WILLIAM BEAMONT, of Warrington, an old friend and warm supporter of the SOCIETY, read the first division of a learned Paper, entitled “HENRY IV.,—being an attempt to connect some CHESHIRE Persons, Circumstances, and Places, with SHAKSPERE’S Drama of that name.”

This most interesting introductory Paper will be found *verbatim* in the SOCIETY’S *Journal*, Vol. iii., pp. 215-46; as will also the concluding portion at pp. 343-64 of the same volume.

It was a complete epitome of the events enacted in the first years of Henry IV.’s unsettled reign, ending in the defeat and death of Harry Hotspur on the bloody field of Shrewsbury. CHESHIRE, in that, as in every great battle fought between the various competitors for the kingly power, was largely represented, for among the killed or prisoners taken that day scarcely a single county name or family is absent.

After a short discussion upon the Paper, the SECRETARIES introduced the rubbing of a beautiful Monumental Brass just erected by Mr. H. Ff. Taylor, in Chester Cathedral, to the memory of his father, the Rev. Mascie Domville Taylor, formerly of this

city. The Brass is the work of Messrs. Hardman, of Birmingham, and is considered to be a very elegant specimen both in design and execution.

Feb. 22. JOHN WILLIAMS, Esq. (Old Bank), in the chair.

The Rev. CANON BLOMFIELD read an especially piquant and interesting Paper, entitled "Puritanism in Chester in 1637: An account of the Reception of William Prynne, by certain inhabitants of the City of Chester, when on his way to be imprisoned in Caernarvon Castle."—See Vol. III., pp. 271-88.

Mr. T. HUGHES would supply an omission of the Lecturer's, by stating that the original portrait on panel of Bishop Bridgeman, exhibited at this meeting, had been lent for the occasion from the Bishop's Palace at Chester. It was the earliest of the series of episcopal portraits preserved at Chester, and had, he believed, never yet been engraved; but it might hereafter form an illustration to the Rev. Canon's Paper, when it came on for publication in the SOCIETY'S *Journal*. The three Chester men prominently associated with Prynne, viz.:—Ince, Bruen, and Leigh, were citizens of influence and repute; the first named, PETER INCE, served the corporate office of Leavelooker in 1635; and appears, like Prynne himself, to have conformed to Church rule prior to his death in 1658; for he left by will 52 shillings yearly to the poor churchgoers of Holy Trinity Parish, charged on his house in Watergate Street. He was a member of the Stationers' Company for 35 years. His cousin WILLIAM INCE was Mayor of Chester in 1642, and was afterwards M.P. for the city. CALVIN BRUEN was Sheriff of Chester in 1635, and his elder brother JONATHAN BRUEN was one of the Barons of the Exchequer. PETER LEIGH (or LEE) was an ironmonger (as was also his fellow sufferer Bruen);—was Leavelooker at the very time of his political martyrdom, and Mayor in 1656. He issued a small copper trade token, a copy of which he (the speaker) had in his cabinet. His shop was in Eastgate Street, and it was clear that he was one of the chief and wealthiest of the Chester tradesmen of his day.

Mr. ROBERT MORRIS sent for exhibition a set of fine views of CREWE HALL, the once splendid mansion of LORD CREWE, destroyed by fire on the 3rd of January last. Mr. Morris was unable to

attend owing to indisposition; or, having been the officer in command of the Fire Brigade in attendance at the Fire, he would have personally pointed out the various points of the mansion that had been sacrificed.

Mr. WYNNE FFOULKES drew attention to the proof sheets of Mr. Green's very elegant and learned reprint of Geoffrey Whitney's *Book of Emblems*. The work was well and elaborately illustrated; and many of the Cheshire subjects were wholly new to the county collector, and would no doubt be generally appreciated and admired. The subject was in a degree familiar to the Members of this SOCIETY, inasmuch as Mr. Green had in previous Sessions read two valuable Papers on Whitney, the chief of our Cheshire Tudor poets.

Mr. W. WILSON exhibited, by the courtesy of the owner, Mr. THOMAS DAY, a copy of the Black-letter Bible of 1573, from the press of the celebrated Elizabethan printer, JOHN DAY. This particular copy was once the property of Mr. PETER DAY, of Newton-cum-Larton, near West Kirby, who was probably a son or near relative of the great printer of 1573; and it was remarkable that that estate had continued in the possession of the Day family down to the present time.

Mr. HUGHES exhibited from his own stores two choice little black letter treasures—one "*The Hope of the Faithful*," and the other "*An Exhortacion to the Carienge of Chrytes Crosse*," both being from the pen of the renowned Miles Coverdale, and, in the form exhibited, he believed, now all but unique.

SIR PHILIP GREY EGERTON, M.P., presented to the SOCIETY's Library a copy of the "*Oulton Catalogue*," recently printed by him for private distribution. The volume contains a list and full description of the oil paintings, enamels, porcelain, and other articles of *vertu* adorning the mansion at Oulton Park.

March 15. Meadows Frost, Esq., in the chair.

Mr. E. A. DAVIDSON read a Paper devoted to the subject of "Early Landmarks in the Highway of Time."

A vote of thanks to the Lecturer and Chairman closed the proceedings.

Nov. 22. Mr. ROBERT G. KELLY, Artist, of Birkenhead, delivered an able Lecture "On the Enjoyment and Application of Art,"—at which Meeting Dr. McEWEN presided.

The Lecture treated of nearly every department of Art, and displayed considerable knowledge of the subjects touched. During its delivery Mr. Kelly was frequently applauded. He occasionally illustrated his remarks by a series of crayon drawings on the black-board (done in the presence of the audience), with remarkable skill and facility.

The CHAIRMAN having inquired if any of the members present had any remarks to make upon the Lecture,

After a slight pause, Mr. T. HUGHES said, as the only Secretary present, he would take the earliest opportunity to propose a vote of thanks to their esteemed Lecturer, Mr. KELLY, for his kindness in coming forward to serve them (the SOCIETY) in a time of difficulty—a time when the Secretaries had found it especially difficult to get a Lecturer to open the Session. Mr. KELLY had come a considerable distance on a wintry day to oblige the SOCIETY, and they were all deeply indebted to him for his courtesy. He hoped that his remarks would induce other fellow-members to come into the "field" to help them to keep up the *prestige* of the SOCIETY, by reading Papers upon any subject of antiquarian interest they might think suitable to bring before them. As the hour was getting late, he would say but a few words respecting the able Lecture that had been delivered that evening. In the course of Mr. KELLY's remarks he felt reminded of two of our 16th century county men who were eminent for their skill in two of the Arts, namely, DANIEL KING, an Engraver, and RANDLE HOLME, a painter, both Citizens of Chester. Mr. KELLY had spoken about Music and beautiful Bells. The large Bell in Chester Cathedral, whose "curfew" tones they used to hear every night, was now no more, it having met with its death-blow while ringing on the Prince of Wales' birthday, on the 9th inst. For more than a century that Bell had, with its deep musical tones, been one of the glories of our venerable Cathedral; and he hoped but a short time would elapse before they (the Citizens) would again hear it, or rather its successor, in all its grandeur and power.

The Rev. W. B. MARSDEN, in a humorous speech, seconded the vote of thanks to Mr. KELLY for the able Lecture he had delivered.

Mr. KELLY briefly acknowledged the compliment, and the proceedings terminated.

Dec. 16. The Rev. W. WORTH HOARE, Incumbent of Stalybridge, read a Paper on "The Manor and District of Staley, in this County."—See pp. 107-24 of our present volume.

The LECTURER gave a short prefatory sketch of the geological features of the district; and, while tracing the descent of this particular Manor of Staley from the earliest period of our history, explained the original meaning of the ancient privileges attaching to an old English Manor. From a mere hamlet fifty years ago, Stalybridge, as it is now called, has developed, within living memory, into an important centre of manufactures and a busy hive of industry. This was both an interesting and instructive Lecture, and the more so as Mr. HOARE had resided on the spot as its pastor for nearly thirty years, and had thus been a personal witness of its rapid progress from obscurity to fame.

1867.

Jan. 31. The fourth monthly Meeting of the Session was held this evening, when there was an excellent attendance of members and friends.

The Rev. CANON BLOMFIELD took the chair, and introduced the Lecturer of the evening as a gentleman well known among the agriculturists of the county as an able writer and speaker.

Mr. THOMAS RIGBY (of Over) then read a very interesting and well-constructed Paper "On DELAMERE FOREST and some of its Associations; with a short account of the Ancient City of EDISBURY."

After some preliminary remarks upon the Roman occupation of Britain, the Lecturer proceeded to speak of the system of enclosing immense tracts of land as forests,—instancing the New Forest; and then remarking that HUGH LUPUS, nephew to the Conqueror, and first Earl of Chester,—or, to speak almost more

correctly, first King of Cheshire,—having the county given to him by his Royal uncle to “hold as freely by the sword as he himself held the kingdom of England by the Crown,”—appears to have done a very similar thing in regard to the Forest of DELAMERE. “The Earl’s forest,” says ORMEROD, “is noticed in *Domesday* in several instances, and it likewise appears that it was not only formed of lands then found waste, but that villis had been afforested for the express purpose of adding to its limits; and he instances KINGSLEY and WEAVERHAM among others as being so afforested. This passion for forest sports seems to have prevailed also with his successors. What is now known as the Hundred of WIRRAL was formed into a Forest by Randle Meschines, the third Earl of Chester, and the timber in it was at one time so dense and so thick that an old couplet says:—

“From Blacon Point to Hilbre
A squirrel may leap from tree to tree.”

And up to the time of Edward III. it was said to be a “desolate forest and uninhabited.” MACCLESFIELD Forest, or Lyme Forest, according to Lucian the monk, was afforested by Ranulph de Blundeville, the fifth Earl of Chester. It is described as the boundary between Cheshire and Derbyshire, and contained as much land as is now divided into twenty-three townships.

The first of these three Cheshire Forests, DELAMERE,—the one we have to do with now more especially,—was originally called the Forest of Mara and Mondrem, and comprised not less than 62 townships, extending over a great part of the Hundred of NANTWICH, and nearly all the Hundred of EDISBURY. That part of the forest called Mara was situate in the latter Hundred, while Mondrem chiefly embraced the townships nearer to NANTWICH. “The districts in which it was situated,” says a modern writer, “was originally inhabited by the British tribe, the *Cornavii*, who seem to have been somewhat less fierce and more tractable than the rest of the painted savages who were once masters of our island.”

The first written Forest Laws on record were made in the year 1016, by Canute, the Danish King, who suffered himself to be seated on the sea shore by his courtiers when the tide was rising, to try the effect of his word upon the advancing wave, which they assured him would retire at his bidding! These laws were very

voluminous, and as a rule most arbitrary. They gave the King unlimited power to take possession of any tract of country and use it for his own benefit. They appointed Foresters or Verdurers to look after the deer, and their persons were held so sacred that if any man offered force to one of them he was, if a Freeman, to lose all his property and his freedom; if a villain his right hand was to be struck off; and if he repeated the offence he had to atone for his hardihood with the loss of his life. It was death to kill a deer in the Royal Forest: sometimes the offender had his eyes destroyed; and if any one through sport or malice even chased a deer until it panted, the lowest penalty was a fine of ten shillings!—a larger sum much in those days than we consider it now.

Of the objects of chase to these early huntsmen we have little information; but it is probable that the wolf, the bear, the wild boar, the roebuck, and the deer had their lairs in the Forest of Mara and Mondrem as in other Forests and parts of the kingdom. Even so late as the end of the 13th century, a writ was issued to all bailiffs, &c., in the counties of Gloucester, Worcester, Hereford, Salop, and Stafford, commanding them to aid and assist the Wolf Hunter General in destroying and exterminating all wolves in those counties; and many lands in various parts of the country were held by the service of keeping adjoining districts free from wolves. The brown bear also reigned contemporaneously with the wolf, and had its dens in our Forests so late as the 14th century. The wild boar, and also the wild bull, are said to have inhabited the New Forest in the reign of Charles I. The roebuck retained its place here among wild animals until within the last hundred years, when it became extinct; but the red deer and the fallow deer still remain to us, although confined to the enclosures and parks of "the stately homes of England."

It is probable therefore that the Forest of DELAMERE has often resounded to the roars and cries of wild beasts, and often in days of yore, as now, to the exciting music of the huntsman's horn. But as the ancient Forest Laws apply chiefly to deer, we may suppose they were its chief occupants as subjects of the chase. Although originally held by HUGH LUPUS, the first Earl of Chester, as "the Earl's Forest," yet we have no formal appointment of Forester until the reign of his nephew, Randle the First, who

came into its possession by heirship in the year 1120, and appointed RALPH DE KINGSLEY, of Kingsley, his Forester. With the tenure of his office he received a Horn, hooped with gold in three places, that he was to use in direction of the hunts of his Royal master, and which identical Horn still exists. One hundred years after its institution the office of Forester passed from the KINGSLEYS to the DONES of Utkinton, but there was a long and angry contention between them and the GROSVENORS of Budworth as to which was best entitled to the chief office; subsequently, however, it came into the exclusive possession of the DONES.

Edward I. was passionately fond of hunting, as were his successors, Henry IV. and Edward III. "The latter," it is said, "took so much delight in hunting that even at the time he was at war with France, and resident in that country, he had with him in his army sixty couple of stag hounds, and every day he amused himself with hunting or hawking. The great lords in his army had also their hounds and their hawks." Our good Queen Bess was also extremely fond of the Chase, and several accounts tell of the interest she took in it, sometimes as a spectator only, and at others as a cunning and bold huntress. "Even, by and by," wrote Earl Leicester on the 28th June, 1575, "Her Majesty is going to the Forest to kyll some bucks with her bow, as she hath done this morning." The severe Forest Laws I have quoted were much modified during the reigns of these Princes, but were still decisive enough in all conscience to check the growth of a taste for venison. "No man," willed Henry III. towards the close of his reign, "no man from henceforth shall lose life or limb for killing of our deer; but if any man be taken therewith and convicted for taking our venison he shall make a greivous fine, if he have anything on which to levy a fine; and if he have not he shall be imprisoned for a year and a day, and after the year and a day have expired he shall be liberated if he can find sureties; and if not, he shall abjure the realm." And the quaintness and consideration of the following concession gives us a glimpse into the social life and state of the times:—"Whatsoever Archbishop, Bishop, Earl, or Baron, in coming to us at our commandment, should happen to pass by one of our Forests, it shall be lawful to him to take and kill one or two of our deer by the view of the Forester, if he be

present,—or else he shall cause one to blow an horn for him, that he seem not to steal our deer; and likewise it shall be lawful to do the same in returning.”

James I. rather augmented than lessened the severity of these enactments. “I dare boldly say,” writes Osborn with great bitterness, “that one man in his reign might with more safety have killed another than a rascal deer: but if a stag had been known to have miscarried, and the author fled, a proclamation, with the description of the party, had been presently penned by the Attorney-General, and the penalty of His Majesty’s high displeasure threatened against all that did abet, comfort, or relieve him.” We can easily credit our Cheshire historian WEBB’s statement, therefore, that in his reign “The Forest of Delamere was well stocked with deer, both red and fallow, and with great store of fish and fowl in the meres.” His Majesty seems to have been fond of display, and made many progresses through the kingdom. Among others, it is recorded that on the 21st August, 1617, he came to CHESTER with a great retinue, and was received by the Citizens with all the magnificence they could devise, and entertained with a sumptuous banquet at the Pentice. At which time, says the record, after a learned speech from the Recorder, the Mayor (Mr. EDWARD BUTTON) presented to the King a fair standing cup, with a cover double gilt, and therein a hundred jacobins of gold.” No mean gift in those days!—and James was not ungrateful, for he offered to make a knight of Mr. Button on his departure, but that gentleman declined the honour.

The same night the King went to VALE ROYAL, and the Register of the Parish of Whitegate records that on “the 21st day of August, A.D. 1617, the same daye being Thursdays, King James came to Vale Royal and there held his Court until Monday next after.” During this time, says Webb, “He solaced himself and took pleasing contentment in his disports in his Forest of DELAMERE, where Mr. JOHN DONE, Chief Forester and Keeper, did order His Highness sports so wisely and contentedly that he freely honoured him with knighthood, and graced his house of Utkinton, near unto, with his Royal presence.” “It was the joy and gladness of our hearts,” adds the old man, “to behold how graciously His Highness spent there the King of Heaven his own

day in the service of his God; and where he was pleased to hear our Reverend the Dean of Chester preach unto him God's truth; and could at his dinner recount the heads and chief points of his sermon as punctually as if His Highness had been acquainted with the preacher's;" and where His Majesty the day following had such successful pleasure in the hunting of his own hounds of a stag to death, as it pleased him graciously to calculate the hours, and confer with the keepers and his honourable attendants, and to question them whether they ever saw or heard of the like expedition and true performance of hounds well hunting."

There is not much mention made of DELAMERE FOREST in the stormy days of the Civil Wars, which for some years afterwards disturbed the peace of the country; but in Burghall's *Diary*, entitled "Providence Improved," there is an entry, from which it appears that it was once at least the theatre of some contention between the Royalist and Parliamentary Forces. "The same day," says his journal, January 24th, 1644, "General Fairfax and many other commanders, and the Lancashire Forces to the number of 3,550 horse and 5,000 foot, marched towards Nantwich to raise the siege; and coming over DELAMERE FOREST they met with some of the Royalists, and in the skirmish took forty prisoners and killed some."

Mr. RIGBY then spoke of the reclamation of patches of the Forest for various purposes, and the growth of *quasi* rights of pasturage here and there upon it. As to the planting of the Forest with Oak by the Crown, he said it was thought to be a most politic and prudent thing to do, "because of the great and increasing difficulties," said the preamble to the Act, "of procuring a supply of timber from foreign countries and from the estates of private individuals." It was also thought by some, and not very long since, to be a prudential move towards providing a suitable supply of timber for the dock-yards of our Navy. "Nor is it beyond the reach of hope," says one, as he looked upon the newly planted trees, "that during the reign of our gracious Sovereign (whose reign may Heaven prolong!) some of these infant monarchs of the Forest may become monarchs of the main, and, sailing under the flag of Queen Victoria, may bear the intelligence, the civilisation, and the religion of Britain to the remotest portion of the globe."

"Behold in the soil of our Forest once more
 The sapling takes root as in ages of yore;
 The Oak of old England with branches outspread,
 The Pine tree above them uprearing its head!"

But how far from realisation have these predictions been, as indeed are most of our predictions or plans for the future! Timber in abundance still comes to hand from the immense Forests of the United States and Canada, and iron has almost superseded the use of "hearts of Oak" in both the Naval and Merchant Service; while half at least of the plantations then formed have been cleared away already, to allow of the land on which they grew being cultivated by the plough. This demolition was effected by the Crown in the years 1860 and 1861: and after the roots had been eradicated, and the clearing spread over with marl, which was conveyed from under the Hill of EDISBURY by a locomotive steam engine, tenders were invited for its tenancy for farming purposes; and it is now in the occupation of three enterprising farmers, and contributing its fair quota of animal and vegetable produce, for the sustenance of the teeming populations of our manufacturing towns.

The LECTURER then noticed the farms of the three tenants, Mr. Leather, Mr. Thompson, and Mr. Archer. In a direct line between Mr. Thompson's house and farm-yard is a spring of water called "Hind's Well," which is said to have had the property of redeeming that part of the curse which was passed upon our first parents in regard to labour, and the bare fact of the tradition lingering in the tales of the old people hereabout is at least remarkable. "If you wash your hands in 'Hind's Well' you will never need to work again," is the saying. Spare me the incredulous smile, if you please, and come and try it some day in early summer! Every honest lawyer and miller has a tuft of hair growing in the ball of his hand, it is said; and because there are few who have seen this peculiar growth, men begin to say that honest lawyers and honest millers are rare, forgetting that it may be equally true that it can only be seen by honest men. So the charm of "Hind's Well" may depend for its efficacy upon the faith of the operator, as much as do the old renowned and long-tried charms by which blood-running is stopped and tooth-ache cured.

Mr. RIGBY then proceeded to notice the Ancient City of EDISBURY, raised during the Heptarchy by Queen Ethelfleda, on the top of the Hill of EDISBURY, near the Old Pale farm-house. For his materials he relied chiefly upon a Paper read before the British Archaeological Association by Mr. Beamont, of Warrington. Noticing the peculiar natural advantage of this hill, she built a fortress here first, and afterwards one at Runcorn, as a check on the advance of the Danes. Ethelfleda died in 920, and after a lapse of some years the city, or camp, would seem to have gone gradually to decay—probably in consequence of the subsidence of Danish insurrections and the want of a neighbouring river, always essential to the prosperity of an inland town. Mr. RIGBY then described the city from Mr. Beamont's account, and dwelt at length upon the traditions connected with it. The Lake of Oakmere, near here, is one of the largest meres or pools on the Forest, covering about 110 acres of land, and being probably one of the chief preserves of fish for the Monks of Vale Royal.

In the year 1815 a poor woman, whose appearance bespoke great poverty, but whose manners and language were evidently very much above her present wretchedness, requested the sanction of Lord DELAMERE to live upon the banks of this Lake; which being granted, she set to work to make herself a permanent abode. Upon a rising bank near the Mere, sheltered by a few Scotch firs, there stood two ribs of a whale, which had been placed there by PHILIP EGERTON, Esq., of Oulton. Between these ribs Maria Hollingsworth (the name of the poor woman), formed a kind of dwelling, making a wall of sods and a roof of boughs; and obtaining her chief subsistence from the milk of two goats which she had brought with her, and the eggs of a few fowls given by the neighbours. She continued to reside here thus for three or four years, when some difference arising between her and her neighbours, repeated quarrels ensued, and in 1820 she left her habitation as suddenly and mysteriously as she arrived there; but before doing so she took a German Prayer Book to Vale Royal, and begged Lady DELAMERE to accept it as a tribute of her gratitude, and likewise sent her ladyship the last of her family of goats. Mr. Warburton, in his *Hunting Songs*, refers to this eccentric dame in this verse—

"Where 'twixt the whalebones the widow sat down,
Who forsook the black forest to dwell in the brown."

VALE ROYAL, the seat of Lord DELAMERE, and Utkinton Hall were next noticed, and the Lecturer concluded with the following remarks on St. Stephens Well:—The last association of DELAMERE FOREST which I must notice is St. Stephen's Well, a very fluent spring of beautiful water on Mr. Newport's farm of the "Rock," and near to Fishpool and the Seven Lowes marked on the map, which are supposed to be the burial places of warriors either in the British or Saxon times. This spring is said to have possessed rare medical qualities, and a pamphlet entitled "News out of Cheshire," a transcript of which I have here, kindly lent me by the Rev. W. D. Fox, of Delamere, beautifully written by Miss Fox, details with much speciousness upwards of 40 Cases of cures effected by it, which almost border on the miraculous.

Commending this spring to the notice of all hydropathists, and very thankful to you for the patience you have exercised in listening to my wandering dissertations, I here draw them to a close, fancying I hear some such mental exclamation as that first uttered by the great philosopher of old,—“Better is the end of a thing than its beginning!”

At the close of the Lecture, the CHAIRMAN rose, as usual, to invite discussion, when

Mr. T. HUGHES said that independently of the merits of the Lecture itself, he wished to offer a few remarks on the foundress of the town or city of Edisbury,—the Princess Ethelflæda,—who also built the original Church of St. John's at Chester. She it was who in honour of her favourite saint, refounded the Abbey of St. Werburgh (now the Cathedral); and to her we owed the repair of the old Roman Walls of the city, which were at that time in sad decay, and might, but for her, have altogether perished. The Lecturer was a little wrong when he described Ethelflæda as a Queen; for although she was the daughter of one of England's Kings, Alfred, she and her husband were never more than the chief lieutenants or deputies in Mercia under her brother, King Edward. With respect to old Mrs. Hollingsworth's cottage on the Forest, referred to by Mr. Rigby, he had at home a curious pamphlet

describing the old lady, and having a frontispiece by Crane, of the good dame sitting in her hut "built between the two bones of a whale." In the "Diary of a Lady of Quality," written by the late Miss Wynn, of Wynnstay, aunt of the present Sir Watkin W. Wynn, was a long and interesting article, continuing the memoir of Mrs. Hollingsworth to the date of her death. He would like to direct the attention of the meeting to the beautiful series of illustrations hanging on the walls, and among them to the large Map of the Forest, prepared for Mr. Rigby, by Mr. Astbury, of the Forests Schools; and to three drawings of Edisbury Camp, considerably forwarded by their old friend Mr. Beaumont of Warrington. Lord Binning, too, who had been unable to send the "Tenure Horn" of the Forest in time for the meeting, had very considerably sent that very evening, by special messenger from Tarporley, an ancient painting of the Horn, and the charter of the Forestry, painted upon panel, and this lay then upon the table for Exhibition. It was his duty also to point out the fine series of cartoons of Merton, Vale Royal, EDISBURY, &c., &c.; and to dwell for a moment on the services rendered to the SOCIETY, by their invalid but faithful friend, Mr. JOHN PEACOCK. That gentleman had unfortunately been laid up with illness for a year or two past; but although unable to be present at their meetings, his heart was still with them; and he (Mr. Hughes) had never to ask him a second time to do a favour for the SOCIETY. He had, then, a very pleasing task to perform, viz.:—to propose a vote of thanks to Mr. PEACOCK for this, only one out of many acts of kindness and friendship rendered by him to the SOCIETY. With this vote he would connect the names of Lord BINNING and Mr. BEAUMONT.

Mr. R. MORRIS seconded the motion, observing that the Horn had not always been in the hands of the Ardens and Kingsleys, but that it was once in the possession of the Crewes; from whom, through the Dones of Utkinton, it had descended to the present Lord BINNING, as representative by marriage of the Cheshire family of Arden, now almost extinct.

The CHAIRMAN would like to know whence came the name of "Delamere," as, up to the time of George III., it was called the Forest of Mara and Mondrem?

Mr. RIGBY said he could not answer the question, but he supposed that the new title must have been given to it when the Act of Parliament was passed in the time of George III.

Mr. HUGHES said that it might have taken the name of "Delamere" from that of the original Lord DELAMERE, a creation long previous to that of the present family at Vale Royal. DELAMERE had, he believed for centuries, been its popular name, though in Official Documents it would and did long after bear the old name, *Mara and Mondrem*.

The Rev. CHAIRMAN said that he had no more remarks to make upon the Lecture; but had to ask those present to accord their cordial thanks to Mr. RIGBY for the very able and lucid Paper he had given them that evening, respecting a district in Cheshire that abounded with interest. It was a very large and central area of land, and was at one time the necessary medium of passage to many parts of the county. He could well recollect the traditions that were told of highway robbers, and people being terrified when passing over the Forest, even to the Abbey Arms. Mr. RIGBY was well known as a talented Lecturer, and his production that evening was characterised by great ability and knowledge of archaeology. He entirely concurred in what Mr. HUGHES had said respecting Mr. PEACOCK, who was a good archaeologist, and was more than ordinarily gifted with his pencil. He (the Rev. Chairman) was glad to say that he called at Mr. PEACOCK's house the other day, and ascertained that he was then in a better state of health than he had been for a considerable time.

The vote of thanks to Mr. RIGBY was given with much cordiality.

Mr. RIGBY having acknowledged the compliment, the proceedings terminated.

Feb 22. The usual Monthly Meeting of this SOCIETY was arranged to have been held on Friday evening. Owing, however, to the receipt, on Thursday afternoon, of a telegram from India announcing the sudden decease of Captain C. J. Blomfield, eldest son of the intended Lecturer—the Rev. CANON BLOMFIELD—the meeting was of necessity postponed. The worthy Canon, we

believe, left Chester for Stevenage on the 28th, his usual term of residence here having expired. Before leaving, however, he placed the MS. of his Lecture "On Church Bells" in the hands of the Officials of the SOCIETY; but it was considered respectful and advisable to hold the Paper over until the following Winter Session.

Dec. 16. At this, the first, meeting of the SOCIETY for the Winter Session the Rev. Canon Blomfield brought forward his Lecture on "CHURCH BELLS," unavoidably postponed, through a family bereavement, from the previous Spring's programme.

Major EGERTON LEIGH, of Jodrell Hall and High Leigh, an old Member and an occasional Lecturer, was unanimously voted to the chair. In a speech full of humour he avowed his continued interest in the welfare of the SOCIETY, and his pleasure at again meeting the reverend Lecturer and his brother Members in that room.

From the Paper read by the Rev. CANON we make the following extracts:—

"The observations which I now propose to offer to you on the subject of "BELLS" will be the substance of a Lecture, which was intended to be read at a meeting of this SOCIETY held in February last. If it had been delivered then, it would perhaps have met with a more favourable reception than I can hope for it now; because, at that time, there was a lively interest awakened in the subject by the accident which had just before befallen the Curfew Bell of the Cathedral, and had deprived the City of its accustomed evening toll. At first, that long familiar sound, 'swinging loud with solemn soar' over the City, was greatly missed; but, now that more than a year has passed by, the ear has got accustomed to the silence, and the interest felt in the project for restoring the Bell may have in some measure abated. Probably at no time since the Conquest has the ringing of that Curfew Bell been so long suspended. I hope, however, that the inhabitants of the City have not begun to think that they can do as well without it. I hope that many ears are yet open in anxious expectation of its revival. I know that I meet with many enquiries into the progress of the work going on in the great Tower; and I assume from that

fact that the first sound of the new 'Curfew Bell,' and of all the new peal, will be hailed with delight when it first breaks forth from its new chamber in the Tower; and that the temporary suspension of it will only have served to sharpen the sense of interest and pleasure which has for a while been in abeyance. Before I enter upon any of the details in connection with these new Bells, let me attempt to exonerate myself from the appearance of presumption in thus taking up a subject which has already been brought before this SOCIETY about three years ago, in two very able and exhaustive Lectures by Mr. R. MORRIS. He has kindly allowed me to inspect what he then delivered here, and I perceive that it embraced the whole subject of Bells—their origin, their history, and various uses—and it appears to contain the substance of the best information on it. After so complete a treatise on the subject, which I doubt not most here present heard and will remember, I should not have thought of recurring to it again but for the cause to which I have referred,—the fracture of our great Cathedral Bell! This, as you know, has led to an entire reconstruction and expansion of our Bell system. Like most misfortunes that befall us through life, the sudden loss of that old accustomed sound, which 'told the knell of every parting day,' awakened a new sense of the value it was to us while we had it. It had been for ages an established institution of the City. The rich sonorous note of that old Bell had become a thing of course; and as it rolled over the City nightly at nine o'clock, it called up many associations of thought;—some perhaps going back to old historic times, some connected with incidents, treasured in the memory, of the past private history of individuals—some with mere common-place details of time and place, and household duties. When the first stroke of that Bell was heard at night, almost in every household someone would say to another, "There is the nine o'clock bell;" and many a tale its music told—whether the simple reminder of some duties to be done at that hour; some busy housewife to ply her evening care; some evening meal to be got ready; some husband to be looked for returning from his day's labour; some children to be put to bed; or the sadder memorial of the weariness and slowness of time, as it seems to measure itself out during the sleepless days and nights of sickness; and giving the poorly balanced comfort of thinking that another day is gone, but another night of wakefulness

and suffering is begun. No wonder, then, that when this grand teller of so many tales was suddenly found to have lost its tongue, and no toll was heard at the accustomed hour, the attention of the public was aroused. The ear of the City was all alive and acute on the next day at the hour of nine, but not a sound was heard. And even those who had scarcely noticed its familiar voice, as long as it spoke with unfailing regularity, at once observed the silence, and started up with the question—"What has happened to the Cathedral Curfew Bell?" The melancholy fact was soon made known. It was on the day of the Election of the Mayors and the Birth-day of the Prince of Wales. To celebrate those two important events, the Curfew Bell had been raised to join a peal; when, after the first few strokes, it ceased to give its wonted sound, and it was found on examination that a large piece had been broken out of it. By what cause, soon became apparent! The clapper of the Bell had been inadequately lengthened by the blacksmith who had lately repaired it; and consequently the hammer fell, *not* on the sound bow, where it ought to fall, but an inch below it. This produced an irregular discord in the vibrations of the metal,—loosened the continuity of its particles, and rendered it so brittle that the third or fourth stroke broke the large piece out of it which now *lies on the table!* A little knowledge of the principle upon which Bells are constructed would have prevented this accident. But this was hardly to be expected in a country (or even a city) blacksmith. I am not sure that even the Canons, or the Dean himself, possessed the knowledge!—the want of which has often produced a like result elsewhere, and ruined many Bells besides that of the Cathedral. We have now *bought* our experience, and must take care to preserve it, and hand it down to succeeding generations of our bell ringers.

I may now with all propriety recall to your recollection how general and how strong was the feeling which was awakened throughout the City amongst all classes of people by the deprivation of the accustomed toll of the old Bell. It was not so much the loss of its sound on *other* occasions, for ringing joyful peals, or funeral knells, that affected the popular mind; but simply that the *daily note* had ceased to peal from the Old Church Tower

at the close of day; and so the City seemed to have lost a daily memorial of time, and to have parted with a dear old friend! As this affected more or less all the inhabitants of the City, irrespective of all questions of class, or rank, or religious opinion, so did we find that all were willing to combine in a quick and generous effort to repair the loss, and find the means of giving back to the City once more that much-missed sound of the Evening Bell. I am speaking now of what was felt and done a year ago. Since that time many changes have passed over the Cathedral and the City, and, perhaps, as I have said, to some extent over the mind of the inhabitants.

You will remember that the effort to raise the funds necessary for the re-casting of the Bell was, with great delicacy and kindness of feeling, put forth as an expression of regard and respect to the good old Dean, who had lived among us for near 30 years, and had done such good service in many ways to the Cathedral. It was hoped that he might live to hear the sound of the *new* Curfew:—but though this was not to be, he did live to hear of the kind and generous act of the citizens; and I may say that it helped to give him some cheerful and happy thoughts in the midst of the suffering which marked the latter period of his life. I have spoken hitherto as if it were only the Curfew Bell which was to engage our attention,—and no doubt to the public at large it is the most interesting, because it is *the one* Bell which speaks to them every day. And it is in itself the most important Bell,—the chief spokesman of the Tower,—the head and leader of the Peal,—the great functionary who presides over and governs the rest. But we must not treat the other Bells with disrespect, though they have hitherto held a very inferior position, and have never been allowed to exercise their full powers in a noble Bob Major. You know that there were only five Bells in our Cathedral Tower: and I suppose that the ears of all who have heard their discordant notes for the last twenty years will have told them that the third Bell was cracked; and that four out of the five were never rung at all, but only struck, by pulling the clappers against the Bells. Indeed no provision was made for raising those four Bells for the purpose of ringing, because there was no place below from which any but the Great Bell could be rung. So that while that Bell gave out its full volume of sound

and the other four were only struck, there arose that unequal and inharmonious combination of cracked sounds, which was erroneously called 'a merry peal' from the Cathedral Tower. You will be aware of what is now being done to remedy these defects. In the first place we have the Great Bell and the third, which was cracked, replaced by their equivalents, exact reproductions in size and weight, and, as we hope, in quality of tone. Then we have added three entirely new Bells, so as to complete the octave, and constitute a perfect peal. The whole are placed in a new cage or framework, of great strength, constructed in part out of the material of the old one; and this is raised up to 15 feet higher in the Tower, and rests on a new floor supported on massive timbers. By this arrangement not only is a good and capacious ringing chamber, 30 feet square, obtained in the Tower, so that all the eight Bells can be raised and rung as a peal; but it is expected that from their being placed at a greater elevation, the sound will pass more freely through the belfry windows, and be thrown with greater clearness and power over the City. I may add that a mechanical contrivance, invented by Messrs. Warner, and exhibited at the International Exhibition of 1861, is to be placed in the ringing chamber, by which all the Bells may be chimed for service by one man. The entire cost of this reconstruction will exceed £700."

After speaking of matters connected with Church Bells in general, the LECTURER proceeded:—

"I may introduce a word or two here on the subject of the 'Curfew,' which has been rung in our Cathedral Tower, as in many others, probably from the earliest date which we can ascribe to the building. It is commonly supposed to have had its origin in a tyrannical edict of William the Conqueror, who is said to have compelled his Saxon subjects to put out all fires and lights at sunset, to prevent secret meetings of disaffected people. It is clear, however, that it was a general edict, and was obligatory on Normans as well as Saxons, and therefore could be no special mark of subjugation. The fact is that he merely adopted or enforced a rule which had prevailed long before, not only in England, but on the Continent, for the preservation from fire of the wooden buildings in which the people then lived. The

ringing of the Bell itself was an ecclesiastical rule found in the early statutes of Lichfield and elsewhere, prior to the Conquest. It had been applied to civil and secular uses also; because the hour of sunset, or more commonly of seven, at which it was rung for the evening service of the Church, was the same hour at which the fires were to be extinguished. It acquired very early the name of curfew, or "couvrefeu"; and it is curious to find it called by this name both in Latin and its semi-English form, '*cover fu*,' in an edict of an Archbishop of Upsal, in Sweden, as early as 1290 A.D., who directs that no one should go out of his doors after the '*ignitegium, seu cover fu*.' The ordinance which required the extinction of fires and lights at the sound of the Curfew was abolished by Henry I., but the practice of ringing the Bell at night remained:—probably on account of its general convenience, as well to give note of time, as to guide those who were out at night towards their homes across the wide heaths and vast open fields, which lay adjacent to the villages in mediæval times, about which there are many legendary tales. As the practice was continued, so was the name, which we trace down from the earliest date of English literature to our own. In Chaucer's *Miller's Tale*, and Chaucer lived in the 14th century, we read—"The dead sleep fell on the miller about Curfew time." Shakspeare dates the night from 'the time the Curfew rung.' And Milton says—

"On a plot of rising ground,
I hear the far-off Curfew sound;
Over some wide-watered shore,
Surging slow with sullen roar."

The ringing of the Curfew had become extinct in most country churches at the beginning of this century, but has been revived in a great many in this county."

Having given a description of the method of Change Ringing, the following remarks occurred:—

"I have not been able to ascertain the exact number and date of Bells in our City Churches: but I believe that the best peal is that of St. John's, which consists of eight fine Bells, not now rung on account of the unsafe condition of the Tower. I may observe that the correct use of Bells for Church purposes is often mis-

understood at the present day. It is expressed in the following rhymes:—

“To call the folks to Church in time,
 We chime;
 When mirth and joy are on the wing,
 We ring;
 When we lament a departed soul,
 We toll.

The singular effect produced on one memorable occasion—the victory of TRAFALGAR and the death of NELSON, 1805—by the combination of the two latter in the Churches of CHESTER, is well described in a private letter written from Chester soon after that date. “I was in the venerable City of *Chester*, ill in bed, and had not heard of the victory of Trafalgar (October, 1805). Suddenly there arose a joyous and deafening peal from the eleven Churches: then came a dead stop, and one deep toll from the Cathedral sounded solemnly over the old City. Then there burst forth the joyous peal again; then came the pause, and the knell for England’s darling hero! These contrasts of sound alternating one with the other produced an effect that was, beyond expression, striking and overpowering!” The Bells of a Church ought only to be *rung* on festive occasions; and they usually are so rung: but the occasion is not always of such a character as ought to call forth the music of a Church Tower, sacred in a measure to ecclesiastical uses, or at least to purposes of general rejoicing. It is quite consonant with the fitness of things that the Birthday of the Sovereign and of the Heir to the Throne, and the election of a Mayor as the Queen’s Representative in the City, should be so celebrated; but it is hardly right that the Church Bells should ring in honour of the triumph of a political party at a contested Election, as has been done in this City,—still less for a victory at the Races,—or even for the result of a hard fought battle in the Cockpit! A story is told in connection with this use of the Bells, which is worth repeating. There was a literary blacksmith residing some years ago near Windsor, who used to read to his neighbours in an evening by the light of his fire. He read to them on successive evenings the story of “*Pamela*,” by Fielding. They became deeply interested in the fate of the heroine: and when at last, after all her troubles, it came to her marriage with the hero, they were in such extacies of delight,

that they rushed off to the Church Belfry and rang a merry peal in honour of the happy pair!"

The following were the concluding sentences of the Lecturer:—

"I would only, in drawing this Lecture to a close, remark upon the fact that the sound of a Bell which is rung can be heard at a greater distance than any other sound of equal volume. This arises probably from the continuance of the vibrations, each succeeding one impelling forward those which preceded it, so as to drive them further into the distance. I have myself heard the ringing of our Curfew Bell at TATTENHALL, distant eight miles from CHESTER, and it has, I believe, been heard ten miles on a still evening. You will remember the story of the sentinel at Windsor Castle, who was charged with being asleep on his post at midnight; and really escaped death by asserting that he had heard the clock of St. Paul's, London, strike the hour of midnight, and that it struck thirteen. It was afterwards proved that it had so struck, and had been heard by one or two others besides himself. WHITTINGTON is said to have heard the Bells of Bow Church from the top of Highgate Hill, which is about four miles distant, and their sound came to him with such distinctness, that he could not mistake the purport of the message which they conveyed to him,—*"Turn again, Whittington, Lord Mayor of London town!"*—from which bit of authentic history we may gather the interesting information that Bow Church had then only six Bells,—because there are six syllables in each sentence which the Bells conveyed to him. Bow Church has now twelve Bells, which do honour to the Lord Mayor on the 9th of November. And now I must ask your indulgence for the very imperfect manner in which I have put together these rudiments of the *Belles Lettres*, and I thank you for the patience with which you have submitted to the somewhat prosy details. My only desire is to make them the humble means of introducing to your favourable notice the new Bells of St. WERBURGH'S Tower. I know that *belles* are always received with courtesy and attention in Chester society. These I am sure will have agreeable voices, and will not speak unkindly to any one; and their position will prevent all causes of anxiety, for it will be so lofty as to make it quite impossible to run away with any one of them! May they long survive in their elevated sphere, marking

the progress of time, reminding the citizens of their responsibilities, sounding the note of sympathy with those that rejoice and with those that weep, carrying on the solemn call of the Church from generation to generation!"

The CHAIRMAN remarked that every one who had heard that Lecture, even if he did not belong to CHESTER, could not have listened to it without feeling gratified, and without walking away from that place more educated about Bells than he was before. He remembered when at Eton his tutor pointing out Nola as the place where Bells were first made. They did not believe the tutor then; but it was a curious thing that in many counties in England they did not say toll for half an hour, but noll for half an hour. Their thanks were due to the Rev. Canon for his entertaining Lecture. It was not the first time they had had to thank him for this sort of thing, and he hoped it might not be the last.

The Rev. CANON BLOMFIELD read some of the mottoes on some of the older Chester Bells.

The CHAIRMAN remarked that it was a very curious thing that when there were no roads, no means of communication, the firm of Rudhall should have made Bells for a place in Gloucestershire and for Knutsford in Cheshire.

Mr. THOMAS HUGHES, F.S.A. (Hon. Sec.), supported the vote of thanks to the Rev. CANON, and hoped that they of the SOCIETY might regard his annual appearance as a Lecturer in the light of an institution for many years to come. Mr. BLOMFIELD had referred to one Irish Bell, the ancient one known as St. Patrick's; but there was another Bell in the Sister Isle perhaps still more interesting to them locally—the Bell of Trinity College, Dublin. The note of that Bell, he believed, was precisely that of the old Curfew Bell of Chester; it was cast about the same date, possibly in the very mould that produced the broken Bell of Chester Cathedral; at all events, he was assured by Chester men, students of Dublin University, that on hearing Trinity College Bell for the first time they had been forcibly reminded of the "Great Bell" of their own native City. The Rev. CANON had spoken of hearing the old Bell at, and when a resident of, Tattenhall, 40 years ago; but he (the speaker) had the other day received a letter from a lady residing nine miles away, stating that she and her neighbours sadly missed

the sound of the Chester Curfew Bell, and enclosing a handsome donation in aid of its restoration. He noticed upon the table the fragment broken originally out of the old Cathedral Bell, and he trusted it would be suffered to remain in the SOCIETY'S Museum as a permanent record of the untoward event. There was an incident connected with the broken Bell that was, he thought, well worth recording. The Bell, dated 1738, was cast at Gloucester, and on arriving at this City by way of Foregate Street, it was found to be too large to pass through the once splendid postern, the old Edwardian EASTGATE; and it had to be dragged round, he believed, to the Kaleyards, passing that way *over* the City Walls, and to its place in the old Cathedral Tower. Upon the walls were three large cartoons of Bells and the process of hanging them, contributed at short notice by Mr. A. H. DAVIES-COLLEY, a young member of the SOCIETY. This reminded him (Mr. Hughes) of the recent decease of an old friend of the SOCIETY, and a genuine antiquary, the late Mr. JOHN PEACOCK, whose facile and artistic pencil was always at the command of the SECRETARIES. He was an industrious collector of Local Antiquities; and it would be gratifying to all present to know that his collection had generously been presented by Mr. PEACOCK, Sen., to the CHESTER ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY, and would at once form part of its permanent Museum.

Mr. EDWIN SIDDALL, engraver, sent for exhibition some half-dozen little Bells, cast from fragmentary portions of the old Curfew Bell at Chester.

Mr. SHRUBSOLE exhibited four curious oak panels, taken out of one of the old houses of Chester, and from which he had removed a thick coating of dirt and paint. The panels were apparently of the 16th century, perhaps of about the reign of Henry VIII.: two contained human heads in profile, and one a wheat sheaf, the ancient symbol of Cheshire.

Mr. HUGHES passed round for inspection two handsome 4to. volumes, in which were mounted some 140 pencil and sepia drawings, the original illustrations to "Ireland and the Irish," by Mr. and Mrs. S. C. HALL, published some twenty years ago.

A vote of thanks having been given by acclamation to the Rev. CANON BLOMFIELD for his interesting Paper, a similar compliment was paid to the CHAIRMAN, and the meeting terminated.

1870.

March 5. A Paper entitled "SKETCHES OF OLD CHESTER," was read by Mr. W. F. AYRTON, before the members of the SOCIETY and their friends, at the Bishop's Old Palace, Abbey Square. The Right Worshipful the MAYOR presided. Several paintings, drawings, etchings, and prints, some of them lent for the occasion, were hung around the walls.

Mr. WYNNE FFOULKES, in opening the meeting, alluded to the fact of the meetings of the SOCIETY having been again resumed owing to the exertions of a few members; for it had to be borne in mind that, if they did not come forward with Papers, they could not have meetings. He also referred to the associations connected with that place (the Bishop's Palace) as being congenial to their antiquarian tastes.

Mr. AYRTON then proceeded to read his Paper, "SKETCHES OF OLD CHESTER," and, in his opening remarks, explained how he came to undertake it. Some months ago it was proposed to open the Session with an Archæological *Soirée*, a kind of tea drinking, at which everybody was expected to know something and somebody was expected to say it. Their worthy SECRETARY (Mr. Hughes), who, though a Volunteer himself, had no objection to pressed men—for if he could not enlist you with a good shilling he would with a bad one;—assured him (Mr. Ayrton) that *he* could do something, as he was like Balaam's ass, could talk if he liked: and so there he was—especially for the consideration of the ladies—a sad example of the consequences of the inability to say "no" at the last moment! The tea drinking fell through, and he, having a short sketch, which he thought might be the corollary to some more important Paper, was asked to convert this side-dish into more substantial food, as the SECRETARY thought if something were not done the SOCIETY would fail for want of sustenance; and so the Paper he had now to read had swelled into its present dimensions.

Though the Old Buildings to which he would call their attention belonged chiefly to the 18th century, he could not consistently neglect to notice the few remains of an earlier period. Those of Roman origin were, all of them, disconnected and fragmentary. Even the CITY WALLS, though unquestionably Roman in

their origin, had been so overlaid and replaced by buildings of a later date that traces of the Roman mason were scarce. At the EASTGATE there still remained the form of the ancient arch, though now filled up with masonry; and many might not be aware of the arch on the north side, which they could see when going up the steps, and which he believed to be a Roman arch. Northward, between Abbey Street and the Phœnix Tower, we had still the stone—which was noticed by Roach Smith in 1849—bearing the initials of a Centurion, under whom a certain number of stadii were completed, and which no doubt formed part of that work.

Between the Phœnix Tower and the Northgate the exterior of the wall still presented characteristics of Roman construction, and a portion of a cornice remaining near the latter was undoubtedly Roman. Proceeding westward, and then southward, we met with nothing decidedly Roman till we came to the ROODEYE; and there might be distinctly seen remains of the Roman Wall projecting further into the ROODEYE than its present boundary. He did not agree with *Hemingway*, who (Vol. I., p. 335) says that the present form of the Walls is strictly Roman; as if so, that would go a great way to negative the legend of the monkish chroniclers that they were enlarged by Ethelfleda. It was evident, as had appeared to archæologists years ago, that the Roman Wall ceased at this point, and then, according to the rule of castramentation, it would turn abruptly eastward, passing near Cuppin Street and Pepper Street in the direction of the Wishing Steps; and so the Wall, including the Nun's Gardens and the Castle would be a subsequent fortification. He did not agree with *Hemingway* in his opinion that the Shipgate was Roman: he (Mr. AYRTON) thought it was Norman. There was no doubt a Gate there connected with a Ferry leading to the Roman road, of which there were still traces at Eaton, but the ancient work taken down some years ago was decidedly Norman in character.

Before leaving the CITY WALLS he should glance cursorily at their remains, irrespective of date. Of the four Gates the most interesting was undoubtedly the EASTGATE, possessing very early records of its existence. The charge of it was confided to men of rank, holding immediately from the Earls of Chester as a post of

honour, and also of the profit from the tolls granted in connection with it. The Sergeantcy of the EASTGATE passed by inheritance or by purchase from one family to another; until, in 1662, JOHN CREWE, of Crewe, released the tolls to the City, but reserved the custody of the Gate and the nomination of its Sergeant to himself and his heirs. This appointment was now vested in Lord CREWE, but had probably become obsolete. The old Norman Gate, which partly hid, if it did not entirely hide, the Roman remains, was taken down in 1768, and the accounts given of the remains then exposed varied, but not in any essential particulars. The old NORTHGATE—of which he had no drawing, nor did he know of any—was described as a very inconvenient gateway, having a pointed arch; on the east side of which was a postern, and on the west an entrance to the City Gaol, which was erected over it. Beneath was a dreary dungeon, in which criminals under sentence of death were confined. The custody of the Gate was confided to the citizens, on condition of their seeing the sentence of the law executed on all malefactors. The present Gate, by far the most beautiful one, architecturally speaking, of the four, was built by Harrison in 1810. The WATERGATE was represented in Hollar's Map of Chester as a simple arch, without any towers or other additions. Originally the Sergeantcy of the Gate was in the Earl of Derby's family; but it was purchased by the citizens in 1778, and in 1788 the Gate was taken down and the present arch erected.

The Sergeantcy of the BRIDGEGATE in the reign of Edward III. was vested in the Raby and Norris families, but the moieties of both were purchased by the Corporation in the 17th century. The old Gate consisted of an arched gateway, flanked by two round towers. No doubt this Gateway, as it gave ingress from Wales, was subject to frequent attempts; and, being an important fortification, was strengthened by an outwork in another gateway at the south end of the Bridge, on which it opened. The old Gateway was disfigured in 1601 by a hideous erection to supply the City with water, and the whole was taken down and the present arch erected in 1781. In respect to the barbican, or outer Gate, he said he believed the name of Handbridge was derived from "Hunbridge," significant of the frequency with which that suburb was burned down during the incursions of the Welsh.

Several round Towers strengthened the defences of the CITY WALLS, some of which remained. The most interesting of them was the one now known as the WATER TOWER, consisting of two distinct buildings of different date—a square one in the west angle of the Wall, formerly called Bonewaldesthorpe's Tower; which leads by the curtain connecting it to the Round Tower, for centuries known by the name of the New Tower, and which was no doubt built at the later date of 1322. This was evidently intended for the greater protection of shipping; for in Fuller's time (1662) rings in the walls of the Tower used for mooring the vessels still remained, though, as he deplures, "they were now only for sight." The other Tower of interest was the PHENIX TOWER, which derived its name from the crest belonging to the Painters' and Stationers' Company placed on its front. In connection with this, Mr. AYRTON related an amusing anecdote of the late Prothonotary JOHN LLOYD, an ardent Loyalist, who always took off his hat on passing this Tower.

Between this and the Eastgate was a postern, formerly called the "Caleyard Gate," which was granted to the Monks of St. Werburgh by Edward I., that they might have ready access to their "Cale yard," or cabbage garden. An old MS. (1701), quoted by *Hemingway*, stated that Henry VI. granted power to the Abbot of St. Werburgh to lock two gates upon the Walls and keep the keys, to secure the "Cale yards" from being robbed and the Monks from insult; and the same author said that the site of the second Gate could not be found. He (Mr. Ayrton) apprehended it was not in the CITY WALLS, but at the opposite side of the Kale Yard. Hence he regretted the change of old names for new ones, because old associations were better retained by preserving the old names. The *Gorse Stacks* meant something, but why it was changed to George-street he did not know. In referring to this early period in the history of Chester, he proceeded to notice the very great change which had gradually taken place in the levels of several of the present streets, some of them to an extent which it was difficult to realise or account for. In excavating for main sewers a few years ago, the former foundations were found at various depths. In Commonhall Street were found the remains of a Roman Temple, the bases and parts of the pillars in their original position indicating

a level 14ft. below the present pavement. The rise there from Bridge-street, and again at Whitefriars, enabled them to conceive a formerly even level: but it was difficult to understand a depression at the Eastgate, where two separate pavements were discovered when excavating for main sewers in December, 1848. These lay a few yards east of the present Gate; one at a depth of 3ft. from the present surface, and the other 9ft. below that. They had never been disturbed,—were similar to the paving of the present street, to which they ran exactly parallel,—and constituted the former level at two different periods. The Norman remains also indicated a level considerably below, though not so far below, the present one.

The CATHEDRAL was originally like most other buildings of a similar character, rather elevated above the surrounding surface than depressed below it as it now is. That Norman chamber adjoining the cloisters, which Mr. Ashpitel erroneously designated "*the Promptuarium*," was generally considered to be a crypt, but it was not. Originally it was on a level with the surrounding exterior; and was lighted by windows on its west side, now buried in the soil and hidden under the roots of trees of considerable size long since planted above them. We could only account for such a change in the general levels of the City, Mr. AYRTON thought, by reflecting on the vicissitudes it had undergone as a fortified place; and considering the pictures of ruin and desolation which our ancient records, meagre as they are, presented, we might almost wonder that CHESTER should have survived to rebuild her scattered habitations, rather than at the lasting marks of the terrible calamities which had overtaken her. Among Norman remains there were none except those of St. John's Church and the Cathedral: and it was worthy of note that the other Churches in Chester were of such comparatively slight structure that not a trace of any parts dating earlier than the 15th century was to be discovered.

Of the Early English era there were considerable remains, not only in the Churches of St. JOHN's and St. WERBURGH's, but in buildings which bore no evidence of an ecclesiastical character. Such were some of the vaults and cellars in the various parts of the City. There was a very interesting one on the south side of Watergate Street, now in the occupation of Messrs. Roberts, Wine

Merchants, in which there was a double row of Early English arches, in an excellent state of preservation. Another, though with only a single bay springing from corbels on each wall, was the Crypt in Eastgate Street, in Mr. AYRTON's own occupation, which gave the name to the present Crypt Buildings. He suggested that these were the basements of baronial residences, which served as cellars for the requirements of the period. The Crypt could only have served such a purpose, as there was an absence of any provision for religious ceremonies. At the period to which these remains belonged, storage of considerable extent was required for articles of home and foreign produce, and absolutely requisite for military equipments. In suggesting that it was for such a use that they were designed, he did not suppose that such important buildings were other than scattered here and there throughout the City, while the surrounding buildings were frail, mean, and miserable to an extent they would find it difficult to realise.

As he only undertook to refer to those buildings of Old Chester of which there were remains existing, or of which they possessed authentic illustrations, he would not say anything of the conventual buildings further than that, with two exceptions, St. Werburgh's and St. John's, they had all disappeared; leaving only the names of Whitefriars, Grayfriars, Blackfriars, &c., to the localities of their former sites. His next topic would be the vaulted chamber under Messrs. Powell and Edwards's, in Bridge Street, which was an exception to the style of these underground vaults, and bore marks of an ecclesiastical character. The extent of the Chapel, if it were such, was about 25ft. by 18ft., consisting of six bays resting on corbels placed in the original walls. The entrance was at the east end, and at the west end was a window of three compartments, which, being below the surface of the ground, no longer served the purpose of giving light. It was probable that an altar occupied the space immediately under the window. On the left was a doorway and stairs, which either communicated with an outer postern or with some recess behind the altar. The popular notion was that the chamber was built and made use of for clandestine worship, but that was without foundation, as there was no reason why the service for which it was adapted should have been conducted in secret at the date to which the building belongs.

Concerning those buildings of which they possessed some record, or were able to furnish some illustration, he remarked that there were no remains of the Old Common Hall which, up to the end of the 15th century, stood in or close to the street to which it gave a name; but, that it was on the site now occupied by the Almshouses or that they at any time formed part of it, had been, he thought, proved to be an error. (*Archæological Journal*, Vol. I., 472.) There was formerly a narrow street or lane running from Common Hall Street to Whitefriars, called Pierpoint Lane, in which the Common Hall apparently stood. Pierpoint Lane passed probably over the ground now occupied by Mr. Brittain's house, issuing on Whitefriars or the opening in front of it. In the cellar of the adjoining house, occupied by Mr. Bullin, was found, some years since, built into the wall, a Roman figure, in bas-relief. illustrated and commented upon in Vol. I. of the *Archæological Journal*. Probably the Hall was disused, and its business, or the principal part of it, transferred to St. Nicholas' Chapel soon after the year 1488, which chapel at that date was transferred by the Abbot of St. Werburgh to the Mayor of Chester and the Parishioners of St. Oswald's (Harl. MS., 2103, fo. 2511), as St. Nicholas's Chapel was used for municipal purposes, and a Council Chamber built on it in the 16th century. (*Chester Archæological Journal*, Vol. I., p. 471.) This chamber was a room in the upper storey, nearly 80ft. in length, but not lofty in proportion; and Webb says it was used for the "Court of Record of the City, called the Pentice Court, held before the Sheriffs of the City twice a week."

This led him to turn to another building, which never went by any other name than that of the "Pentice Court;" which disappeared, he supposed, when the late Town Hall was built, and which we had been accustomed to consider the seat of municipal justice. There could be no doubt it was so used, though the very meagre sketches which remained of it rendered it difficult to understand how such purposes could have been fulfilled in so confined a space. He believed the term "Pentice" or "Pent House" originated with the timber buildings, erected as temporary booths or shops for the wares of the merchants who formerly attended the Chester Fairs, which were of the first importance to the City. These were originally held before the Abbey Gates, and

tolls were paid to the Abbot and Monks of St. Werburgh, by right of a grant from Randal, seventh Earl of Chester. Indeed, so far did the Monks carry their claims that they assumed the right to exact toll of the citizens themselves: and it was only after strenuous resistance from the Mayor and citizens that a compromise was effected, and the citizens were allowed to build booths in the Abbey Square, so long as they did not in any way obstruct the passage to the Abbey. Henry Bradshaw described these Fairs as follows:—

“The Earle gave the place many great freedoms
 Within Chester cite whiche ben known of olde
 With singular privileges and ancient customs
 Saynt Werburghe faire with profitis manifold,
 That no merchandise should be bought ne solde
 Duringe the faire dayes, in writing as we finde,
 But afore the Abbaye Gate to have and to holde.”

The booths, therefore, or pent-houses in which the Monks had interest, were erected in fair times against the wall of the Abbey premises, between the two Abbey Gates, in Northgate Street. In 1513 the Monks lost this right, which was transferred to the citizens: who apparently improved these privileges, for the parties erecting booths in that spot eventually claimed the ground as freehold. So that when more substantial buildings came to be erected they stood upon two properties: and we had an example in the Town Clerk's present offices and other premises on the east side of Northgate Street, for which rent was partly paid to the Dean and Chapter and partly to a private freeholder.

Whether the term “Pentice” was derived from these booths or not, seeing that the Abbot had the privilege of arresting persons charged with felony, and committing them to his own prison: it was certain that it was conferred on the timber building in front of ST. PETER'S CHURCH, of which they had a drawing by Randal Holme. There the Magistrates held their meetings, and the term “Pentice Court” continued to be its title long after the court was removed to another site. Assuming that drawing to be correct, he considered that part of it over the Church door belonged to the Church itself, and to be what was called the “Parvise,” or “parson's chamber.” This was confirmed by a print of later date, in which the “Pentice” had been removed, but the “Parvise” remained. *Hemingway* made the same distinction, but called the “Parvise” the “Parsonage

House," which, clearly, it could not be. The entrance to the Pentice was at right angles with the Church door; and the building appeared to have consisted of two storeys—the upper chamber being no doubt the place where the Magistrates held their Court, the lower serving for offices and offenders. Small as the accommodation must have been, it sufficed for the courts held there. The Town Clerk of that day was known as "Clerk of the Pentice," and the Pentice Court became a title for the seat of jurisdiction of the City Magistrates, wherever that might be.

Of the TOWN HALL, to which the Pentice Court was removed in the 17th century, there was little to be said besides what was found in *Hemingway*. It was built in 1695-8, that is, in the latter part of the reign of William and Mary, and was fresh in the recollection of many present. It was by no means contemptible, although he could not speak of it in such glowing terms as *Hemingway* did. The buildings of that era found small favour either with the artist or the architect. They had neither the classic elegance of Grecian architecture, the picturesque beauty of Gothic design, nor the quaintness of our Timber Structures. They were generally brick piles of poor design; and were rather disfigured than relieved by arches and pillars,—which belonged to no style of architecture, indicated no era, and possessed no beauty of proportion nor propriety. Such as it was, however, the Old TOWN HALL,—or Exchange as it was generally called,—was spacious, and, for the population of the City at the date of its erection, amply sufficient. Associated as it was in the minds of the citizens with so many recollections, whether of a political, municipal, or festive character, its entire destruction by fire on the 30th December, 1862, was a matter of universal regret: and though we might look back with pride on the noble building which had been reared in its stead, the present generation would ever remember with a sense of sorrow and regard the building which had for so long been the centre of municipal life, and the scene of many varied events which are among the records of CHESTER during a period of two centuries.

To read a paper professing to treat of Old Chester without mention of her one unique characteristic, THE ROWS, would be a solecism somewhat similar to that of attempting to represent the play of *Hamlet*, "with the part of Hamlet left out." "But," said Mr.

AYRTON, "I bear in mind that I am addressing an audience to whom every thing relating to The Rows is as familiar as to myself, and there is nothing that I can say respecting them which would be either new or interesting. That they are Roman in their origin has been admitted, without controversy. They no doubt were introduced as the porticos, or outer buildings on arches or columns, with which the more wealthy Roman citizens so generally added to the comfort of their dwellings, and which they borrowed from the Greeks. We see some exactly similar porticos in the outer streets of CHESTER,—in Northgate Street and Foregate Street: the peculiarity in the Chester porticos, in the central and principal streets, being that they are *elevated to the first storey*, along which they form a continuous gallery. I was much struck,—on entering Italy by way of Domo d'Ossola,—by the porticos so exactly resembling those in Foregate Street; except, of course, that their style is Roman and not mediæval, like those of Chester. The nearest resemblance to The Chester Rows are the Colonnades at BERNE, which run the whole length of the principal streets: but these are on the ground floor; and in respect to their position The Rows of Chester are no doubt unique.

Among the noted and most interesting buildings remaining in The Rows is that of BISHOP LLOYD's, who was Bishop of Chester in 1615. The house is elaborately and characteristically ornate, having a great deal of rich carving from the roof to the balustrade of the Row beneath. The front of the first storey contains a number of panels, sunk so as to produce bas-reliefs of a singular mixture,—scriptural events being allegorised in a rather coarse manner; while the two centre panels are devoted to arms and initials, supposed to be those of the worthy Bishop. Higher up the street, on the same side, is that very interesting building, bearing the inscription, "God's providence is mine inheritance!" I am strongly disposed to credit the legend that, in one of those terrible visitations of the Plague, which in the 16th and 17th centuries devastated the City,—this house was the one which alone escaped that fearful pest,—and that the inscription was a grateful memorial of God's providence to the inhabitants. I cannot pass by this building without offering my tribute to the worthy Sheriff of the City, Mr. GREGG, for the good taste in which he has restored and

preserved this interesting record. Here I may, perhaps, be permitted to close this short sketch of Ancient CHESTER, so far as this Paper is concerned.

The illustrations which follow, in point of date, are of no historical value; they have no individual character to interest,—except, perhaps, that of LAMB ROW,—and have no legend that I am aware of connected with them worth preserving. Lamb Row certainly was in its construction somewhat unique, and afforded a favourite subject for many an artist in its day. The only interesting point in its history is that it was built by RANDLE HOLME, the historian, herald, and antiquary, who set the Corporation of the City at defiance in erecting it: for we are told that, in 1670, the Town Council ordered that “the nuisance erected by Randle Holme in his new building in Bridge Street (near the ‘two churches’), be taken down, as it annoys his neighbours, and hinders their prospect from their houses.” The following year he was fined £3 6s. 8d. “for contempt to the Mayor, in proceeding with his building in Bridge Street.” But the Town Council appear to have been either more lax, or less strong, than they are at present: for RANDLE HOLME’s building remained standing within my recollection, till it came down of itself,—luckily without hurting anyone,—and to the infinite vexation of an old woman who tenanted one of the upper rooms, and who refused to move out when the front of her room was gone, on the ground that she had had no proper notice to quit! At one time it became a tavern, with the sign of the Lamb, which gave it the name of the Lamb Row. In later times it was tenanted by a number of families who burrowed in its numerous apartments, very much like rabbits in a warren.

The building in Watergate Street (the MAINWARING HOUSE) will be in the recollection of most of us, having been only removed of late years. I have no doubt the present very clean, straight, formal erections of brick and mortar, are sufficiently paying to satisfy their proprietors as to the change; but I cannot of myself but regret the demolition of a building so interesting in its design, and so characteristic of the City! Lower down, on the opposite side of the street, are the buildings which formerly terminated Nicholas Street, and were in front of the DERBY HOUSE,

Northgate Street shows us the spot where the "Three Crowns Tavern" formerly stood, a site now occupied by the Commercial News Rooms.

I have been able to represent Eastgate Street as it was early in this century, having in my possession a sketch by Cuitt, every line of which I have not the slightest doubt is strictly faithful, though the change in so short a period is most striking. Still more extraordinary is the change in another of the principal streets, as we may see by referring to the cartoon of The Rows on the wall. The sketch from which it was taken I can trace to the date of about 1802; but it was long before I could satisfy myself as to the locality of this sketch,—as only one building remains to identify the spot, and a more striking instance of the changes experienced in the course of 70 years could not well be imagined. If some Cestrian Rip Van Winkle of the year 1800, after having slept peacefully under the shadow of St. John's Steeple, or slumbered unconsciously in the suburbs of the City, were now aroused from his trance, and permitted to wander through our streets, what would be his wonder, and how great his perplexity!

Enabled, then, by a reference to these sketches to comprehend the changes of not more than seventy years, do we not in some measure realise what must have been the change effected by the lapse of centuries? This consideration may give interest to buildings not in themselves notable,—and invest archaeological enquiry with a reality and charm, little understood or appreciated by those who have never engaged in such researches, or tasted the intellectual enjoyment they afford. What has struck me much in endeavouring to throw together the remarks I have here offered for consideration, is the fact that they are much more like the index to a volume than any realization of its contents. It is a deficiency which must attach to any cursory view of so extensive a subject. Scarcely a point in the annals of the City on which I have touched, but which suggests so much matter for interest and further consideration, that I feel more than ever deeply impressed with the meagreness of such a mere outline, as that I have been induced to place upon paper; and with the comparative insufficiency of an Archaeological Paper which does not combine with mere arrangement complete and extensive research."

The MAYOR said he was sure that all had been delighted and interested with the able Paper which had been read. In accordance with the Rules of the SOCIETY, he now invited any lady or gentleman to offer his or her critical remarks upon it.

THE REV. CANON EATON said he did not presume to question any of the points to which the learned antiquary had referred, but there was one point on which he (the Rev. Canon Eaton) might give some information. Some years ago, when he was Rector of ST. MARY'S, they were making excavations against the north wall of the Rectory of ST. MARY'S, facing the Church-yard: there they came to the foundation of a great wall, some of the stones of which were very large; pointing, in his mind, to a period of architecture and style of masonry which carried them back to a rather remote age. They noticed that the stones were in a line with the wall which now exists, separating the garden of St. Mary's Rectory on the north side from the back of the house in Castle Street, and which was continued almost to Bridge Street. Now, if that were continued in a straight line, it would bring one to the Wishing Steps: so that, if this was the Ancient Wall of the City, and he conjectured it was, it made a perfect parallelogram, of which form the Ancient Roman Camps were said to be. The Old Wall did not include the Castle, but he thought, instead of going in the direction of Cuppin Street, it went in the direction he had described; and joined the present Wall near to where the Grosvenor Road cuts through the Walls. At the time they were making the excavations, of which he had spoken, they came upon the top of a well, two or three courses of the stonework of which were exposed, but they did not ascertain what was inside. With respect to the Crypt under Messrs. Powell and Edwards', there was a peculiarity in the window at the west end not often found in ecclesiastical buildings, which was, that the lancets had transoms; and so far as his knowledge of ecclesiastical architecture went, transoms were not usually found in Ecclesiastical Buildings, but more frequently in Castles and other Domestic Buildings. Then, again, it was not customary to have passages towards the altar end of the building; and he rather inclined to the opinion that the end next to the shop was modern,—that the altar was at the east end,—and the approach at the west end. As to The Rows, he had a very prosaic idea regarding their

origin, namely,—that the ancient level of the ground was not the level of the street, but of the yard behind them; that the streets were excavated for convenience, and that in that way they had two rows of shops instead of one.

Mr. AYRTON said he was much obliged for the remarks about the Chapel, as they solved a difficulty. No doubt the altar would be placed where the steps were; which seemed at first sight to be the more likely original entrance, but which was a subsequent one. As to the transoms, he could not think they would exist in an Early English window. Respecting the Canon's theory of the excavation of the streets, he asked how it would be accounted for that only a few yards up Commonhall Street remains were found at a depth of fourteen feet?

The Rev. Canon EATON had been told that the original level of the ground was not the level of the street, but the level of the street behind.

Mr. MEADOWS FROST agreed with Canon Eaton as to The Rows, and was of opinion that the streets were excavated not only for traffic but as a means of defence.

Mr. AYRTON again questioned this, and asked how it could be maintained in the face of such a fact as the finding of remains of a Roman temple below the old Feathers Hotel?

The CANON: That is a strong fact. Those temples are *in situ*?

Mr. AYRTON: Undoubtedly.

Mr. THOS. HUGHES, after expressing his satisfaction and pleasure with Mr. AYRTON's paper, said he should take the opportunity to refer to some points in which he differed from Mr. Ayrton, and he hoped at the same time to assist him by argument in his favour. First, he would take permission to follow out Canon EATON and Mr. FROST's notions with respect to the excavation of the streets. He entertained no doubt whatever that the main streets in the city, north, south, east, and west,—at all events at the Cross,—were excavations out of the parent rock. One fact was worth five thousand theories, and he had seen himself, *on the Row level*, immediately behind some of the shops, the rock *in situ*. He believed it was quite capable of proof that the streets of the city

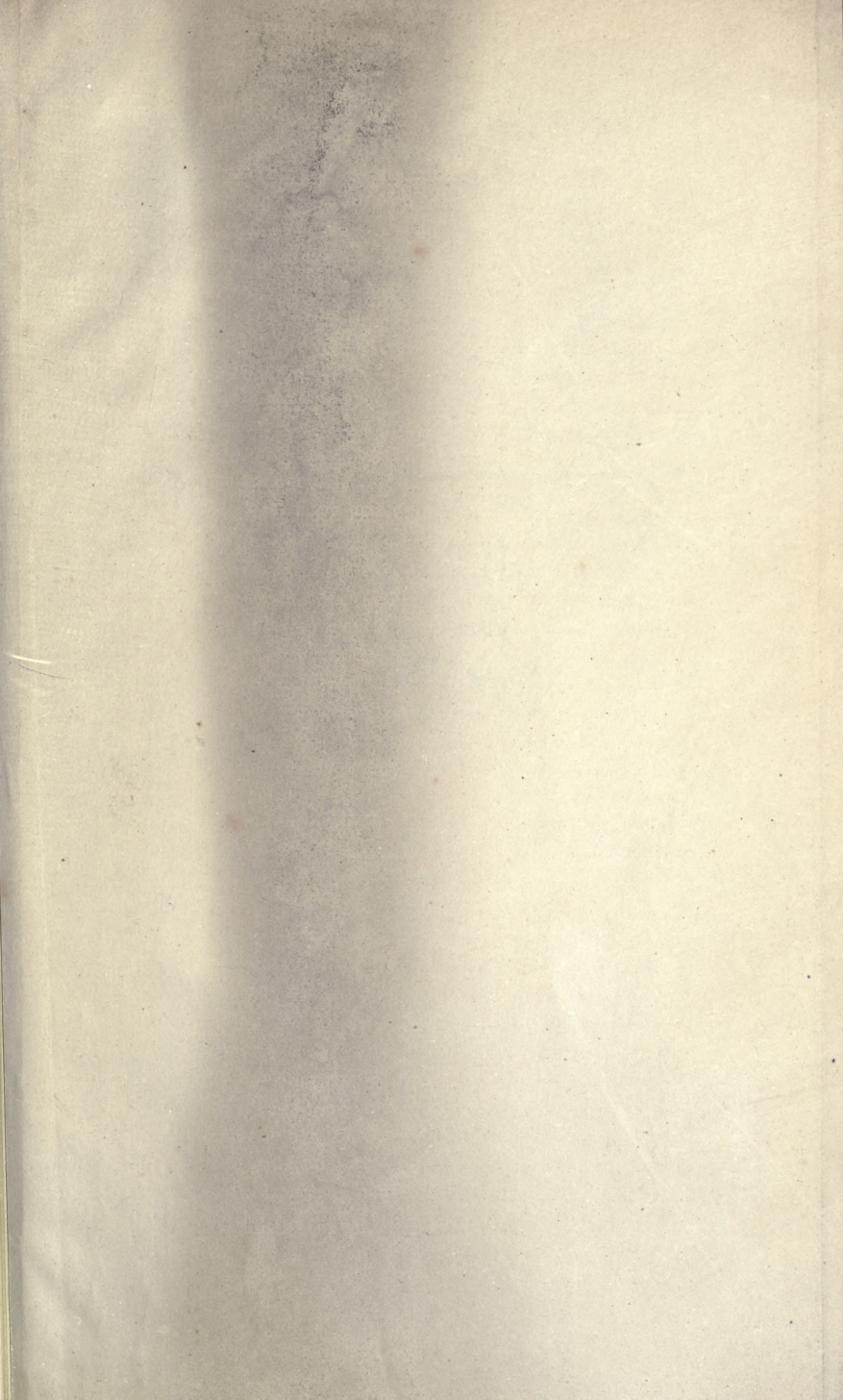
were not in ancient times the narrow streets they were at the beginning of the present century; but that in the mediæval period, either from an increase of trade or the incursions of the Welsh, it became necessary to entrench upon the margin of the streets, and to that might be attributed the formation of The Rows. The Rows were an incrustation, if he might so speak, on the ancient streets, projecting beyond the original frontage. He was unable to see how there could be much argument upon this, because the fact of the rock remaining could not be controverted. Of course the level of a hill varied with its declivity, for there were often valleys on the tops of hills, and this would probably account for the finding of Roman temples at so low a level. In his opinion there could be little doubt about this, and several well-known antiquaries who had given due attention to the subject were of the same opinion. With regard to the SHIPGATE, it had always been understood by Chester people that it was Roman; but he had to plead guilty to not having seen it for some years, although it was within a hundred yards of the spot where they were assembled. In the garden of Mr. Finchett-Maddock, on the opposite side of the Square, this old SHIPGATE was deposited, as an ornament, in 1835. It was removed thither when the late Mr. Finchett-Maddock was Town Clerk. He had every stone marked, and it was now standing behind the present Clerk of the Peace's house. No doubt he would give any lady or gentleman present permission to inspect it, so as to judge whether it was a Roman or a Norman gate. He (Mr. HUGHES) inclined to the latter theory. In reference to the ABBEY GATE, adjoining that historical building, the Palace,—of which they had just obtained an annual tenancy,—in front of that old Gate had assembled for ages the ancient Fairs of the Abbots, under Royal charter. He had had, by the kind permission of the Dean, an opportunity of inspecting the Records of the Dean and Chapter from the time of their foundation, in 1541, almost to the present day; and in them, particularly in the time of Charles I., and just before the Siege, there were frequent notices of these Fairs. It seemed there was a niche outside one of the Gates in which there was once a statue of the first Earl, whom they were erroneously accustomed to call Hugh Lupus. When the Fair was held, the Cathedral authorities had this statue frequently painted and gilded; and among

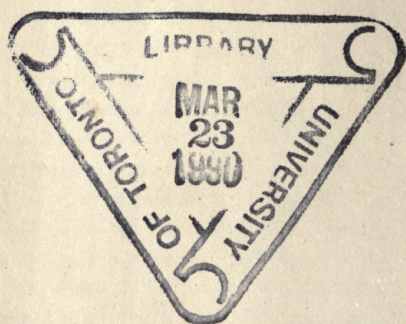
the payments were items such as these:—"To painting Hugh Lupus, 2s. 6d.; to gilding him, 1s. 6d.,"—(laughter)—and so on.

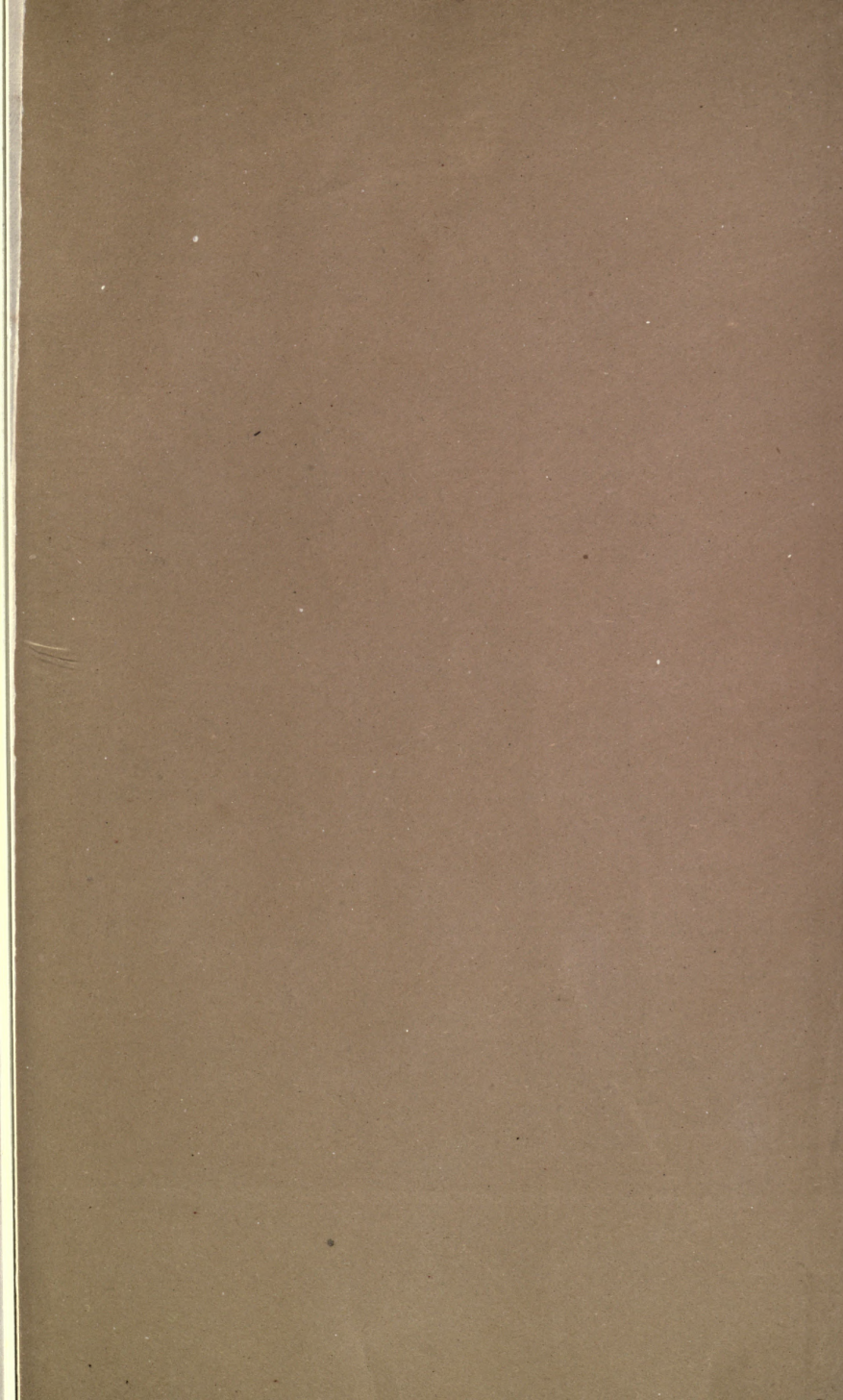
Concerning the old NORTHGATE, he was glad to say he had several views showing the prison, on the top whereof the execution of criminals took place:—for we had the dubious privilege, not only in common with but superior to other cities,—of hanging the criminals for the County as well as for the City! It was only within the last two or three years that we had ceased to enjoy this very *proud* distinction! for in an Act passed affecting the execution of criminals, the present most worthy Recorder, Mr. HORATIO LLOYD, a native of CHESTER, had the good fortune to get a clause inserted, throwing the execution of criminals, condemned to death from the county, upon the proper county authorities.

With respect to the depression of the former level at the Eastgate, he considered that it might be explained in this way,—that around two sides of the city there was a fosse; and it was a curious fact that, when they were trying for a foundation for the "Eastgate Buildings," they had to go to the depth of 30 feet before they found rock, showing that the fosse did exist, although it had been lost sight of. A similar incident occurred in building the Wesleyan Chapel in St. John Street; and he cautioned every lady and gentleman against buying property outside the Walls between the Wishing Steps and the Phoenix Tower, otherwise they would have to put a lot of work underground before they could commence with their building!

With respect to the PENTICE COURT, he said that two of the most ancient volumes,—and most curious and interesting volumes, too,—in connection with the Corporation of CHESTER, had been missing for a full quarter of a century till the other week. They had been taken up to London 20 or 30 years ago, and were not returned. The then Town Clerk did not know where they were, and under these circumstances supposed they were lost. It was only within the last six months that they were recovered; and he (Mr. HUGHES) had had the satisfaction within the last few weeks of looking through them, and he found that they contained a perfect mine of antiquarian interest in connection with the City of Chester, from the time of Elizabeth down to the reign of Charles II., especially about the Siege and the visitation of the Plague. These books contained







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Chester.

PART XII.—DIVISION II.



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PRINTED AT THE COURANT OFFICE,
FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY.

MDCCCLXXXV.

1885

Contents.

ABSTRACT OF PROCEEDINGS, commencing with March 5, 1870, and containing SUMMARY of LECTURES, &c., at the succeeding ORDINARY MEETINGS, viz. :—Mr. Ayrton on “Sketches of Old Chester.”—Judge Wynne Ffoulkes on “The City Walls and Rows of Chester.”—Dr. Robson on “The Roman Roads and Occupation in North Cheshire.”—Judge Wynne Ffoulkes on “Wilderspool and *Condate*.”—Dean Howson on “The Roman Road from Cheshire to the Scotch Border.”—Mr. Thomas Hughes on “An Original M.S. List of Mayors” and “Chronicle of Chester Events” in his Collection.—Canon Kingsley on “His Family Associations with Cheshire”—Mr. Vawdrey on “*Condate*.”—Sir Gilbert Scott on “The Architecture of Chester Cathedral.”—Mr. Beamont on “Shakspeare’s *Henry IV.*”—Mr. Ayrton on “The Grants of Arms to Chester City,”—also on “The Scrope and Grosvenor Heraldic Roll.”—Mr. Hughes on “The Original M.S. Pedigree of the Savages of Rock Savage,”—and of “The Gamuls of Crabwall;” also on “Chester in its Early Youth.”—Canon Kingsley on the same subject.—Judge Wynne Ffoulkes on “The Gold *Torques* at Eaton Hall.”—Canon Kingsley on “Primæval and Tropic Man.”—Mr. Thomas Rigby on “The History of the Ancient Cheshire Borough of Over,” and “The Prophet Nixon.”

Illustrations.

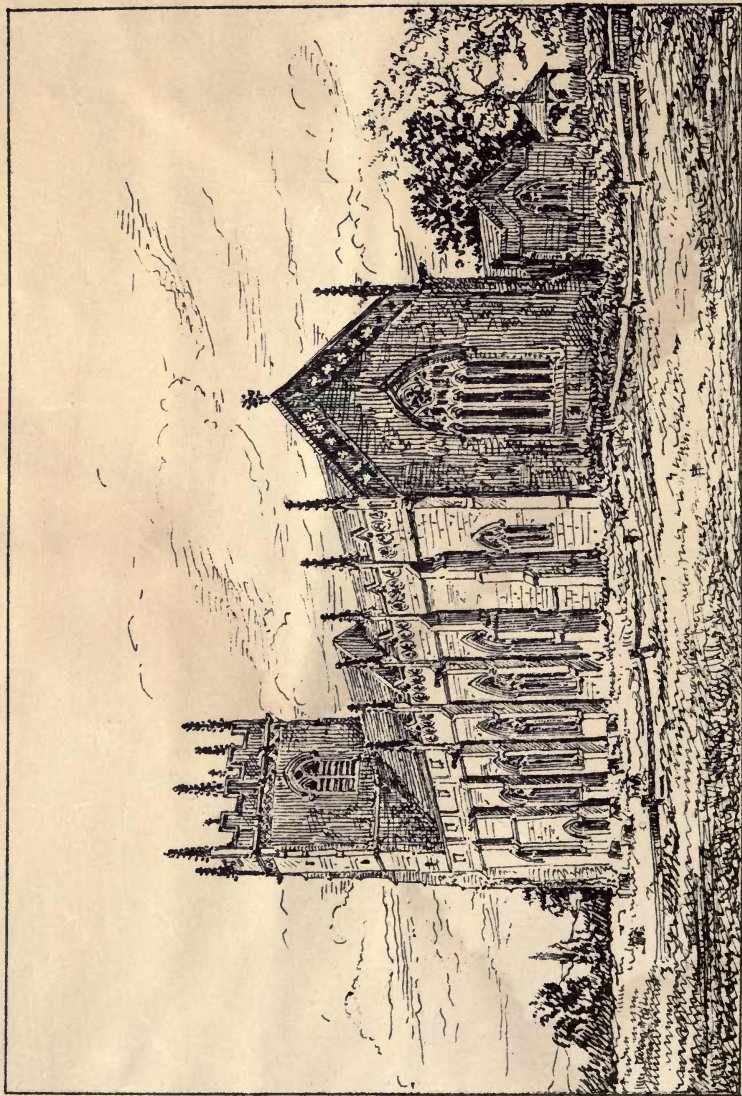
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Notice.

The present Part XII., Division II., completes Volume III.; and MEMBERS who are fortunately in possession of the previous Parts (which are mostly *out of print* and *unobtainable*) are recommended to have their Sets bound up at once, in order to prevent loss and consequent disappointment.

PART XIII. of the JOURNAL—forming the first portion of VOLUME IV., and containing LECTURES and PAPERS communicated to the ORDINARY MEETINGS of the SOCIETY, previous to the year 1886—is in a forward state of preparation.





Sprague & Co. Photo-Litho. London.

BATTLEFIELD CHURCH NEAR SHREWSBURY.
South-East View.

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Archaeological, Architectural, and Historic Society,

FOR

The County, City, and Neighbourhood of Chester.

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THE RIGHT REVEREND THE LORD BISHOP OF CHESTER.
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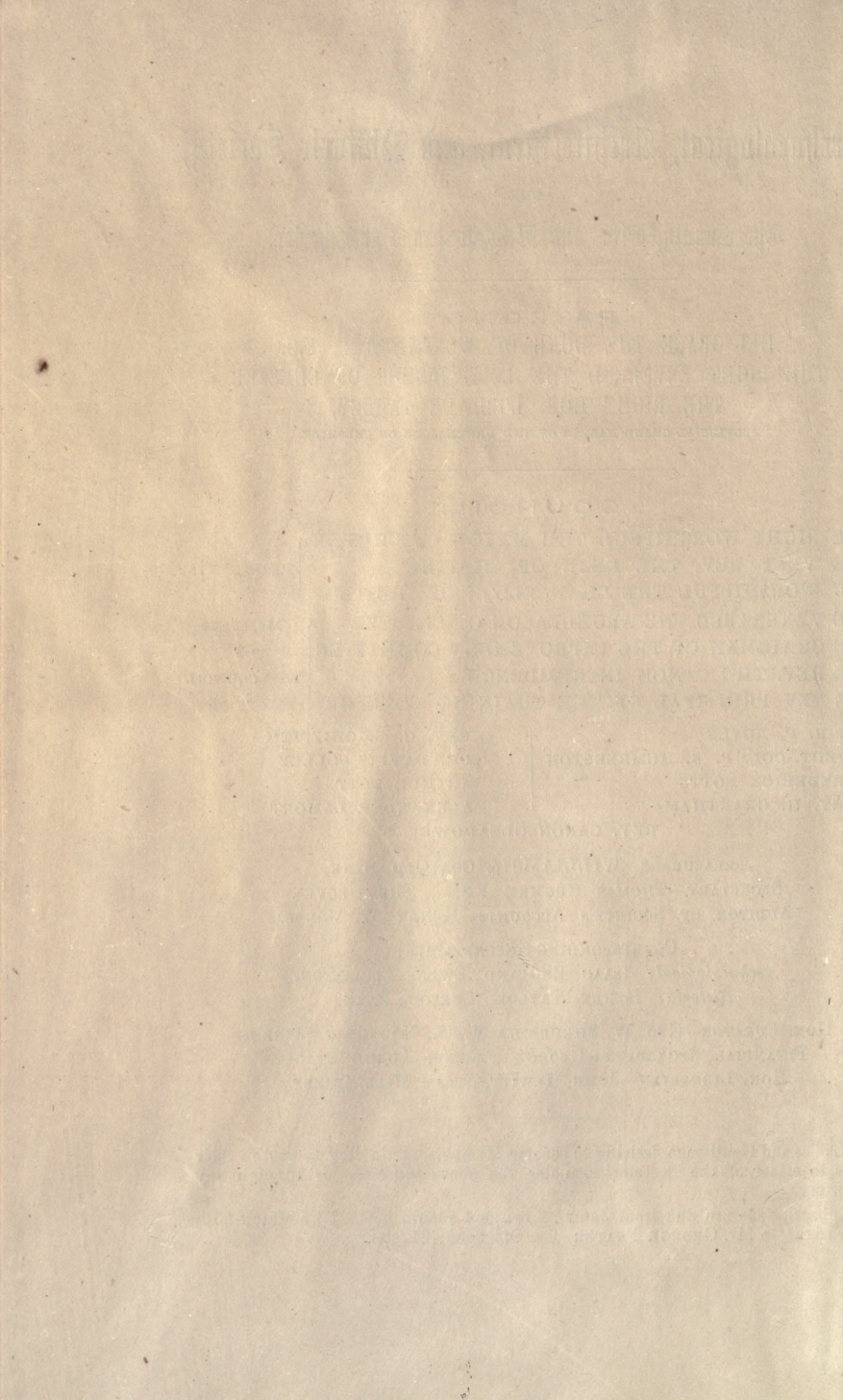
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Ladies and Gentlemen desiring to become Members, are invited to send in their names to either of the Secretaries, under the above addresses, or through any subscriber.

Subscriptions are due from January 1st, and should be paid by March 25th in each year, to Mr. GEORGE FRATER, The Old Bank, Chester.



RULES.

Objects.—The leading Objects of the Society shall be—

- 1.—The improvement of Architectural Taste, Science, and Construction.
- 2.—The illustration and preservation of the Remains of Antiquity and other objects of interest in the City, County, and Neighbourhood.
- 3.—The recommending of plans for the restoration, construction, and improvement of buildings and other works.
- 4.—The collecting of Historic, Archæological, and Architectural information, documents, relics, books, &c.
- 5.—The mutual suggestion and interchange of knowledge on these subjects.

Constitution.—The Society shall consist of Full Members, Life Members, Associates, and Honorary Members.

The FULL MEMBERS shall consist of all Subscribers of *One Pound* per annum. These shall enjoy *every right* and advantage of the Institution, be eligible into the Council, and have the privilege of introducing Visitors, under restrictions hereafter named.

LIFE MEMBERS.—Donors of Ten Pounds or more shall be Full Members for Life.

The ASSOCIATE MEMBERS shall consist of all Subscribers of *Ten Shillings* per annum, and shall have the right of *personal* attendance at all Lectures, Exhibitions, and Ordinary Meetings, and shall also have *the use of the Library*, a copy of the Society's *Journal*, as published, and be invited to join the occasional Excursions.

LADIES may also be Members of this Society on Subscribing Five Shillings per annum, and shall have a right to attend all Lectures, to purchase the *Journal* at a moderate price, and to present communications through the Secretaries.

Honorary Members shall be chosen by the Council.

The Visitors to be admitted by any Full Member shall be either the ladies of his family, children between 10 and 15 years of age, or strangers from such a distance as the Council shall specify.

Management.—The affairs of the Society shall be conducted by a Council, to consist of the following persons, being Subscribers of One Pound per annum:—The Presidents and Officers of the Society; the Archdeacon of Chester; the Chairman of the Improvement Committee of the Chester Town Council; the Canon in Residence; the Principal of the Training College; the Secretary or Treasurer of the Diocesan Church Building Society; the Secretary or Treasurer of the Rural Chapel Society; and four Architects or Builders. To these shall be added other Laity and Clergy, in equal numbers, not exceeding six of each, to be elected by the Full and Associate Members from among the Subscribers of One Pound per annum.

Two of these elected classes, viz., Laity and Clergy, and two of the Architects or Builders, shall retire from the Council yearly, in rotation, but shall be immediately re-eligible. Five Members of the Council shall

constitute a quorum. The Council shall re-appoint the Secretaries annually, or choose others in their room.

The Council may appoint Sub-committees for special purposes, or make Bye-laws, yet so as not to violate any of the fundamental principles of the Society, in which no alteration shall be made without the further concurrence of a General Meeting, and sanction of Patrons and Presidents; and if any Full or Associate Member shall be desirous of altering any Rule, he shall propose such alteration to one of the Secretaries, who shall submit it to the discretion of the Council; and before any Bye-law shall be passed by the Council, notice thereof shall have been given at a previous meeting, or especially in writing to each Member of the Council.

There shall be an Annual General Meeting, Quarterly Meetings, and also Monthly Meetings, if the Council see fit, for the specific objects of the Society. There shall also be as many Extraordinary Meetings as the Council may appoint, at which Lectures may be given on any literary or scientific subject, with the sanction of the Council.

Property.—When the Council shall consider any Paper read at a Meeting of the Society worthy of being printed in the *Journal*, they shall request the Author to furnish the manuscript for that purpose.

FULL MEMBERS AND ASSOCIATES will receive a copy of the *Journal* gratis, and the remaining copies shall be sold at a sum to be fixed on by the Council, for the benefit of the Society.

The Author of any Paper printed in the *Journal* may receive 20 copies of his own Paper gratis.

All Books, Prints, Relics, &c., which may be purchased by or presented to the Society, shall be preserved for the use of the Members in such place and custody as shall be appointed by the Council; and all orders for payment, &c., shall be signed by the Chairman and countersigned by the Secretary; and accounts audited in Council by persons appointed for the purpose, preparatory to confirmation at the Annual Meeting.

The Library and Museum of the Society are at present deposited in the large room of the late Albion Hotel, Lower Bridge Street.

Admission of Members.—All Subscriptions shall be counted due on the First day of January, and shall be paid within three months of the date of admission; and, in all future years, between the 1st day of January and 25th day of March. The Council shall also, if they find it desirable, appoint a certain amount of Entrance Money, to be paid on Admission.

The Society may be connected with other Literary or Scientific Associations, on such terms as to the Council may seem fit; provided always, that the foregoing fundamental Rules of this Society shall be consented to as essential to the union; and that every new Member shall acknowledge the same as the conditions of admission.

Ladies and Gentlemen wishing to become Members are requested to communicate with either of the Secretaries, or with any member of the Council.

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- 1873 Royle Thomas Vernon, Curzon Park
- 1872 Rylands Wm. Harry, 11, Hart Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.
- 1872 Rylands T. G., J.P., Highfields, Thelwall, Warrington
- 1873 Salford Free Library, Peel Park, Manchester
- 1870 Shone William, F.G.S., The Old Custom House, Watergate Street
- 1861 Shrubsole George W., F.G.S., Northgate Street, *Hon. Curator*
- Hon.* Smith Charles Roach, F.S.A. etc., Temple Place, Stroud, Kent
- 1868 Smith Samuel, Nicholas Street, and The Abbey Gateway
- 1874 Shepheard Thomas, F.R.M.S., Bridge Street Row
- 1875 Stolterfoth Henry, M.A., M.D., Watergate Street
- 1883 Siddall J. D., The Cross
- 1883 Taylor Captain R. Mascie, Tyn Llwyn, Corwen
- 1870 Taylor Henry, Curzon Park, and Pepper Street
- 1871 Taylor James, F.R.C.S., 18, Newgate Street
- 1871 Tatlock John, St. John Street
- 1873 Tarver Rev. Canon, Stitsted Rectory, Essex and Abbey Square
- 1878 Tilston Miss, King's Buildings

- 1874 Vincent William, The Old Bank
- 1872 Walker Alfred O., F.L.S., J.P., Lead Works
- 1875 Walker Frederick Adam, Newgate Street
- 1859 Warburton R. E. Egerton, J.P., Arley Hall, Northwich
- 1883 Williams Franklin Harding, Parkgate Road, *Hon. Assistant Curator*
- 1852 *Westminster His Grace the Duke of, K.G., Eaton Hall. Patron*
- 1862 White Miss, Abbey Street
- 1864 Wilbraham Miss, King's Buildings
- 1850 *Wood Isaac Moreton, Newton, Middlewich*
- 1872 Whitley Charles Thomas, Wall's Pit, Stretton, Warrington
- 1876 Wood Thomas, Saughall, and Bridge Street

SOCIETIES IN CONNECTION.

- Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire
- Liverpool Architectural and Archaeological Society
- Liverpool Literary and Philosophical Society
- Powys-Land Club
- Somersetshire Archaeological Society
- Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland
- Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society
- Leeds Philosophical Society
- Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society
- Sussex Archaeological Society
- Leicester Literary and Philosophical Society
- Middlesex Archaeological Society
- Leicester Archaeological Society
- Surrey Archaeological Society
- L'Academie Nationale
- Smithsonian Institution, U.S.A

the materials for a dozen good antiquarian lectures, which he trusted some of those he saw around him would give them the benefit of at some future time.

Mr. WYNNE FFOULKES mentioned in connection with the Roman origin of The Walls, that in the Wall near the Phoenix Tower was a Roman label, showing that the foundations there were erected by Roman soldiers; though probably the label was placed in that part of the Wall at some subsequent time, indicating the course it once took. At the Northgate there was a portion of the old Roman Wall existing, and it put to shame the mediæval work beside it, looking fresher and in better condition. At the Roodeye there were remains, showing large blocks of stone, no doubt so as to resist the action of the water when that part was washed by the tide; and any one walking in front of Nun's Gardens would see the deflection caused by the Roman ditch. He was inclined to agree with the CANON as to the direction the Wall took towards the Newgate, and expressed the belief that there was Roman work in the archway near the Square Tower in the CASTLE. There were certainly Roman tiles in between the stones, which were characteristic of Roman work, and there would be some protection needed for the ford. That this part was added subsequently there could not be a doubt: but still it was remarkable that a position so elevated as that of the CASTLE should have been left outside of the Roman camp, as from that point the enemy could command the City.

With regard to the Crypt under Messrs. Powell and Edwards', the learned gentleman proceeded to say that, if they examined it carefully, they would find a dais as they entered it from the shop, and which he had very little doubt was the foundation of the altar. DR. ROCK, a learned ecclesiologist, with whom he had the pleasure of visiting it, said it was a Mortuary Chapel,—not for the secret celebration of religious services,—but probably (said the speaker) a sort of private oratory. He did not think the vaults to which Mr. AYRTON had alluded were the cellars of baronial personages: he was rather of opinion that they were used (when CHESTER was the great emporium of commerce in the North of England, and Liverpool only a hamlet), as warehouses of merchants who lived on the floors above them, and stored their light goods in the upper

room, which was like a granary without windows, but having shutters,—an example of which was still to be seen at the “Bear and Billet,” in Lower Bridge Street.

As to the origin of The Rows, it was idle to speculate, unless, as Mr. Micawber said, “something turned up.” They would observe that in the three main streets, however, the Rows declined towards the Gates: and he was disposed to think that when the Romans founded the town they built their prætorium on the highest part, and that the surface of the streets was worn away.

That there had been a universal excavation through the length and breadth of the streets was contradicted by the fact that remains were found at so low a level as those in Commonhall Street and at “The Feathers.” He went to look at the foundations of the Crypt Buildings, and there was a series of stratifications: first they found modern remains, then mediæval, and then Roman,—showing that at the back of the houses there was an accumulation of soil, and that the level there was the actual level of the street. When they dug down in Commonhall Street to the depth of seven or eight feet, they came upon a pavement; which was traced to the jambs of one of the doorways entering into Whitefriars Monastery, and those jambs showed that *that* must have been the level of the mediæval street. The conclusion, therefore, to which he came was that, if there were excavations, they must have been made long prior to the time when the place was occupied by the Romans, and he thought they should be content with dating from then. The Speaker then referred to the PENTICE COURT, which he said he had no doubt was so called from the building in which it was held. They would find in a Glossary of Architecture that it meant a “lean-to;” and though he did not know how the legal records referred to it, no matter how the nick-name got attached to this Court, it showed how early it was held in a “lean-to” building. Mr. FFOULKES concluded with some remarks on the jurisdiction of the Ancient Courts of the City.

Mr. R. MORRIS drew attention to the circumstance that at one time the Arms of the different Companies in the City used to be on the Phoenix Tower, but were removed in July, 1810. Regarding the position of the Pentice Court and shops at the Cross, Mr. AYRTON was mistaken in thinking that because of the

street being so narrow there could not have been any of the latter: for at an Assembly of the Corporation, held in January, 1781, it was determined to "remove all the shops and that part of the Pentice at the bottom of Northgate Street on the west side thereof as soon as practicable, so as to widen the said street and make the same lineable with St. Peter's Church." The Corporation were indemnified from loss by donations from Lord Grosvenor, the Lord Bishop of the Diocese, and other gentlemen.

The BISHOP then proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. AYRTON for his instructive Paper; his Lordship adding that he was personally very much obliged, because, from circumstances which would occur to all, he entered the room that evening more ignorant of the antiquities of the City than most of them.

The Rev. CANON EATON seconded the same, and in reply,

Mr. AYRTON acknowledged his indebtedness to Mr. Hughes, Mr. R. Morris, and Miss Jackson, for their assistance.

Mr. M. FROST moved, and Mr. AYRTON seconded, a vote of thanks to the Mayor for presiding, which was carried by acclamation, and his Worship having acknowledged the compliment, the meeting terminated.

May 4th. A Meeting of the SOCIETY was held in the Society's Room at the Old Episcopal Palace, Abbey Square, on Wednesday evening, when a Paper was communicated by Dr. Robson, of Warrington, entitled "The Roman Roads and Occupation in North Cheshire." In this Paper it was endeavoured to fix the site of the Roman Station of *Condote*, which for a long time has been a *crux* and a subject of keen debate among Cheshire Antiquaries.

The Very Rev. the DEAN, having been voted to the chair, said: Archæology had always been one of his great amusements, and naturally the county in which one's lot was cast was the county of the greatest interest to one's self. He hoped that new life was coming to the SOCIETY, which had done, and was doing, so much in illustrating Local Antiquities. He might perhaps take this opportunity of mentioning that the representatives of the SOCIETY had been kind enough to allow him to co-operate with them in reference to a Lecture that would take place soon in

CHESTER. Mr. GILBERT SCOTT, the eminent Architect engaged in restoring the CATHEDRAL, had been good enough to promise to give an historical and descriptive Lecture on that venerable edifice, a short time thence. Mr. SCOTT was a man of great resources, and as the work of Restoration had some very singular characteristics about it, the Lecture in that point of view would be of very great interest. It had been agreed that the SOCIETY should throw its shield, so to speak, over this subject, which, he thought, did not need any protection. They would all be glad indeed to have this combination of forces. Mr. SCOTT would be in Chester next week, and no doubt the Secretaries of the SOCIETY would be able to give a little of their time, so that some arrangement for the Lecture might be made. As regarded the subject before them that evening, it took them back to an earlier period than any part of the Cathedral fabric, though not an earlier period than had been touched in the foundations, for they had come upon Roman remains. The Roman remains in Cheshire were numerous and full of interest. They had presented a great many problems of considerable interest and some perplexity. The author of the Paper about to be read, Dr. ROBSON, was unable to be present, and Mr. WYNNE FFOULKES had been kind enough to say that he would read the Paper, after which there would be a full opportunity for discussing the subject.

Mr. WYNNE FFOULKES remarked that, as THE DEAN had said, the Paper he was about to read was one which had been written and put together by Dr. ROBSON, assisted by Dr. KENDRICK, of Warrington, both of whom were eminent Archæologists; and he did not know two gentlemen who were better versed in the antiquities of which the Paper treated. It might be in the recollection of some present that he (Mr. Ffoulkes) read a Paper some time ago communicated by Mr. VAWDREY, of Kinderton, relative to the site of the Roman Station of *Condæ*, which had been fixed by Archdeacon Wood, many years ago, at Kinderton. On that occasion he (Mr. Ffoulkes) exhibited a number of Roman remains that had been dug up at Kinderton, and which led Archdeacon WOOD, who had seen many of them before they were exhibited, to come to the conclusion that Kinderton was the site of *Condæ*. He believed that, in some measure, it was that Paper,

or the discussion afterwards, that led Dr. ROBSON to write the present Paper, which contained a fair number of arguments for concluding that *Condote* was not at Kinderton, but at another place called WILDERSPOOL, not far from Warrington. The Roman topography of Cheshire and the adjoining counties was very interesting and highly important in an historical point of view; and if it could be accurately settled it ought to be so. It would be interesting if they could have—what had been done in Yorkshire and further northwards—a Roman Map of Cheshire! It would give one some idea of the way in which the country was divided in that early time, and by comparison with later maps they could see how places in the county had been altered in subsequent generations. The learned gentleman then read the Paper, which will be found printed at length in our SOCIETY's *Journal*, Vol. III., pp. 183-92.

Mr. FFOULKES exhibited some fragments of various kinds of Roman pottery that had been dug up at Wilderspool. Some of the pieces were as coarse as could be met with, and two of the rougher sort seemed to have formed part of a Mortarium, or speaking familiarly, a mortar. These specimens showed that the bottom of the mortar was all granulated with hard pieces of silica or quartz, or of some hard kind of stone, so that when the pestle was at work the vegetable or other matter in the mortar would be ground to a powder. Another piece represented the handle of a Roman amphora. There were also several descriptions of a finer quality of pottery, of which the Romans made very large and sometimes very small vessels. The interesting fact connected with the coarser ware was that it had been all, or most of it, made in this country, at Upchurch, or on the banks of the Medway. Other specimens answered to our china, and were called Samian ware. Some classical authors mentioned fabulous sums as having been given for pottery of this kind. This Samian ware was all made abroad, for no manufactory had ever been discovered in this country, probably for the very reason that they could not get the clay for making it. It was believed to have been manufactured in Italy and the South of France. Within the last ten years a mould for making it had been discovered at Wiesbaden. There were also a few iron nails of the Roman period that had been dug up. These were interesting,

owing to the fact that iron implements were not so common in those early times. They perished rapidly, too, but in the present instance one of the nails was so perfect that its original square form could easily be seen.

The DEAN said that whether the meeting would have the pleasure of listening to Mr. HUGHES' Paper that evening would depend upon the fulness with which the subject of Dr. ROBSON'S Paper might be discussed. He hoped it would not be considered indifference on his part if he vacated the chair after a while, and left the Rev. CANON KINGSLEY to take his place. (Applause.) He was obliged to attend the examination of certain candidates in the Chester School of Art. He gave up the chair with great regret, but he went to discharge a public duty on a small scale. He would, before going, make one or two remarks that came into his mind as he listened to the reading of the Paper. Some Papers of that sort were thought rather dry; but they must remember that these roads were part of a great system of Roman roads, and that an examination of them touched an important fact in the history of civilisation. What they had been listening to was not limited in interest to this locality, but connected with other parts of Britain. There was a Roman road with which he was well acquainted, that ran north through Lancashire, and so along the Valley of the Lune until it reached the Scotch border in Cumberland. That was a Roman road of extreme interest, and contained a good many difficult problems; but it was important to bear in mind that it was part of a great system. These roads of Cheshire were really parts of a communication with the whole of the country. The same thing was true as regarded North Wales. There was an important road leading from Chester to Caerleon in South Wales, and probably formed a direct communication between two great bodies of troops that guarded the troublesome Welsh frontier. Going westward, a memorandum which had reached him during the evening said that very recently, near Leeds, Roman remains have been discovered which may throw some light on the missing stations between York and other parts of Yorkshire, in the neighbourhood of Otley and Ilkley. He would hardly suppose, at first sight, that there could be any of the missing links of this line of road so far as the north-west of Leeds; still it was a question of some interest, and perhaps

some one in the room might take the topic up. The remains themselves were of considerable interest. As to the authorities upon which they ought to lay stress in inquiries of this kind it was always desirable to be clear. Three authorities had been mentioned in the Paper. The first was Ptolemy, Now Ptolemy's work was undoubtedly a very wonderful one, but he (the Dean) could never look upon his account of the Western Coast without feeling that it did not help them. Ptolemy never was there, and his description was so utterly vague and disconnected with subsequent history that he did not like it. The third authority was Roger of Cirencester, and he heartily hoped that the idea thrown out in the Paper might be the true one, namely, that Roger was nothing but a successful impostor who ought to be driven out of the field; and if he was driven away, many of the problems would be simplified. The second authority was the Itinerary of Antonine. He wished he had brought his edition of the work, for it was peculiarly clear, the distances being so plainly shown that to merely look at it was a help. He was inclined to agree with Dr. ROBSON that this was an authentic document, and he thought that their only starting point in documentary evidence must be the Itinerary of Antonine. Their object in these investigations was to fit in, if possible, the documentary evidence with visible traces of Roman occupation, and if they could do that they had solved the problem. As to the arguments of probability, it seemed to him exceedingly likely that a great place in Cheshire for obtaining salt would mark the line of communication of the Roman road. Salt was as important to the Romans as it was to us. It would be found in the same place then as now, and the Romans might have made a road to it. One great merit of the Paper was that it called their attention to facts, and took them away from mere theory. They were under a great obligation to Dr. ROBSON for writing it, and to Mr. WYNNE FFOULKES for his kindness in reading it to them.

The Rev. CANON KINGSLEY having taken the chair,

Mr. HUGHES said he was sure they would all regret that Dr. ROBSON had been prevented from delivering the Lecture, which in a sick room he had been good enough to compile, for their benefit. He felt that in missing him they would lose a great deal of interest in the Paper: for had Dr. ROBSON been present he would have

been able to tell them, *viva voce* probably, a great many things of great importance, and otherwise have elucidated the Paper he had so appropriately brought forward, and the position he had so apparently proved. He was fully with the Doctor in the opinion that the early road from MANCHESTER to CHESTER which had *Condote* upon it, was the northern road and not the southern one. Beyond question the distances were almost perfectly accurate upon the one side, whereas they were as thoroughly inaccurate on the other,—a difference of four miles in 40 on the one hand, and positive accuracy on the other. In addition, the Roman remains found at WILDERSPOOL were of far greater importance than those picked up over a much longer period at KINDERTON. There had been evidence of buildings found at Wilderspool, which the Doctor had not referred to, but which really existed. When the Canal was cut in 1803, they cut completely through what had apparently been the centre of a Roman station. The foundations were observable, and the buildings were of strong masonry. And when Wilderspool House, the seat of Mr. GREENALL, was built, towards the end of the last century, similar remains were discovered. Dr. ROBSON was of opinion that Wilderspool was the site of a Roman pottery, not only on account of the large quantity of fragments of vessels found there; but because a quantity of furnaces had been discovered which must have been used, as he (Dr. ROBSON) conceived, for the purpose of manufacturing and burning the pottery, which no doubt was used throughout the length and breadth of Cheshire and Lancashire. The distances between Wilderspool and the surrounding places were, as he had said, positively exact in their correspondence with the Itinerary, and the names of the places on the northern route were quite in favour of Wilderspool being the site of *Condote* on account of their Roman character. The name “street” occurred three times in the northern route, and that was indicative of Roman origin, especially when it occurred anywhere else than in a town. Whenever the term “street” occurred in the country they might expect to find underneath the sod some remains of our Roman predecessors. Another reason why he thought that *Condote* should be looked upon as a place of great importance was this: It lay on the direct north road from the South of Cheshire to the North of Lancashire. The Romans never went round corners if

they could go in a straight line. That was clearly exemplified in the Roman Wall of Northumberland, mentioned in a volume issued by the Duke of Northumberland, but compiled by Dr. BRUCE, who was considered to be a very great authority on Roman matters. It was Dr. ROBSON's opinion that *Condate* was a Station rather than a permanently fortified place,—in fact, that there were no stone fortifications between CHESTER and MANCHESTER,—and he was so confident of this that he quite expected before many years were over, from the extent of building going on at Wilderspool, one of the Roman mile-stones would be found there; and if so, it would be a confirmation of the position he had taken up. What he (Mr. HUGHES) had to say on another subject would not take the form of a Paper; indeed, he would rather allow his remarks thereon to stand over until another evening.

Mr. WYNNE FFOULKES said he remembered having a conversation once with Dr. ROBSON as to whether the Roman Roads in Britain were intended for military purposes,—or merely for the purpose of keeping up a communication with Rome, and carrying news from the extreme portions of the Empire to Rome as the seat of government. Dr. ROBSON's argument seemed to be that these roads were not intended for military purposes, though no doubt they were used for moving troops about. The Doctor's idea was, that they were roads made as soon as possible after the country was conquered; and on these roads were a certain number of Stations, where horses were kept for post services of the Empire, and by which letters were despatched and forwarded. That mode of carrying messages had been continued down to a recent period in this country, and he had heard anecdotes of letters so sent during the time of the French War at the beginning of the present century. He (Mr. FFOULKES) did not know that a mile-stone or anything else of the kind would bring the matter to a satisfactory conclusion, because milestones would be as common on military roads as post roads. With regard to there being no camp found at Wilderspool, he doubted whether any Roman station would be found without some sort of fortification. Mr. FFOULKES hoped it would be widely known that any gentleman might favour them with a Paper; and if he could not attend personally, he (Mr. FFOULKES) as Secretary, would be bound to read it for him. He

then showed the audience an arrowhead of iron, that had been dug up at Dodleston, and presented to the SOCIETY by the Rev. A. GORDON.

Mr. HUGHES said he had had some conversation with Mr. FFOULKES as to *Condote*,—and he wrote to Dr. ROBSON and Dr. KENDRICK on the subject, the latter of whom replied thus:—"Dr. ROBSON's health has not allowed him to visit Wilderspool more than two or three times during the past twelve months; but what he saw on those occasions, in the excavations, was sufficient in his opinion to confirm the view which he had so long entertained of its Roman occupation. He never argued that it was a fortified place, but merely one of the Imperial Post Stations." In like manner, he says, "We find no remains of Roman fortifications upon any of the towns named in the 10th Iter of Antonine, until we get to Lancaster. Kinderton, Wilderspool, Wigan, and Walton-le-Dale are all alike in this point." Dr. ROBSON thinks the traces of stone buildings found in cutting the Canal at Wilderspool, in 1803, taken along with the immense quantity of pottery now discovered there; together with the position of *Condote* (as is the case with Wilderspool), at the intersection of two roads running from the four points of the compass, are quite sufficient evidence of the site being long occupied by the Romans." Mr. HUGHES said the CHAIRMAN had incidentally asked him about the names of *Mamucium* and *Mancunium*, which he (the CHAIRMAN), in common with some other Antiquaries, thought were the same place. No doubt *Mamucium* was Manchester, but *Mancunium* was north-west of that, somewhere about Wigan, in Lancashire; and it was this fact of the similarity of names that had led so many Antiquaries astray in attempting to fix the correct distances between one place and another. Another evidence, which had not been quite distinctly enough spoken of, to his mind, with respect to Wilderspool being the positive *Condote* of the Romans was this:—The southern road would not give them *Mediolanum* at all within the distance required, namely, eighteen miles from *Condote*; but if they took the northern road, and Wilderspool as *Condote*, and came down southward, they would find that *Mediolanum* was at Middlewich. The distance between *Mediolanum* and *Condote* was required to be eighteen miles; the distance between Middlewich and Wilderspool was eighteen miles; the distance between *Condote* and *Deva* was

required to be twenty miles, the distance between Wilderspool and Chester *was* twenty miles; the distance between *Mamucium* and *Condate* was required to be eighteen miles; the distance between Manchester and Wilderspool *was* eighteen miles! There could scarcely be a spot on the habitable globe more likely to be *Condate* than the spot that Dr. ROBSON had put down as being the actual locality. He proposed a vote of thanks to Dr. ROBSON and Dr. KENDRICK, for their kindness in preparing and illustrating the former's Paper.

The Rev. CANON KINGSLEY remarked that no words of his were needed to impress upon them how well deserved was the proposal that had just been made, and which he would second from the Chair. He was glad to see by the large and attentive audience there that night that they attached real importance to disquisitions of this kind, which might be dry to some, but which were really valuable: every investigation of facts must be valuable, and the mere exercise of the human intellect in working out any problem, dependent upon fact, was one of the most wholesome employments to which the mind could be given. To learn to work out the actual position of a Roman Station from given data and given facts, would induce in their minds the condition which would enable them to work out for themselves, according to sound common sense and reason, far more important problems than the settling of a Roman Station or any simple physical fact in the world! What they all wanted was accuracy,—patient, careful induction from fact, and that habit of mind was gained by such archæological researches as they had heard pursued that evening in Dr. ROBSON's Paper,—not as they used to be in his boyhood, everyone carrying out some pre-conceived theory, but simply to get at the truth, careless what the truth might be! As an exceedingly good specimen of such a course, he could not do better than recommend to them the Paper that Dr. ROBSON had communicated and Mr. FFOULKES had read,—as well as the subsequent discussion, equally sound and wholesome in the same direction.

The vote having been agreed to,

ANCIENT CHESTER MANUSCRIPT.

Mr. HUGHES produced an old Manuscript, which he said was as interesting a Document, historically speaking, as any they now

had in private hands in the City. It contained a list of Mayors and Sheriffs of the City from the earliest times to the reign of JAMES I. in 1620. It also embraced some otherwise forgotten details of interesting events in each year. Probably the Manuscript in its entirety would be published ultimately, because the particulars given were so quaint and interesting with regard to the past history of the City.

There were accounts not only of military displays, but also of the plagues and pestilences that had invaded the City, and of the Royal visits that had from time to time been paid to it. He was sorry the Manuscript ended with the year 1620; for had it gone on until 1650, they would have had the history of the SIEGE told by an eye-witness, who would be in a position to speak of the privations which the citizens of Chester had then to experience while maintaining, as best they could, the Cause of their KING. That was a subject well worthy the attention of a SOCIETY like this, and if no one else undertook the task of bringing the matter before them, he hoped he might be spared to introduce it to their notice. The first item he would read from his old Tudor-Stuart MS. was of peculiar interest at that time; because in another week they would have an important carnival, perhaps not particularly interesting to Anti-quaries, but interesting to a large body of Her Majesty's subjects—CHESTER RACES. Mr. HUGHES then quoted paragraphs from the Document, as subjoined:—

“1539.—In this yeare the Offeringe of balls and foote ball were in this Cittye put downe, and the horse, with Silver Bell and Silver Gleeves offered vp to Mr. Maior vpon Shrove Tseday: the silver bell beinge wonne by the best Roninge horse.

“1561.—John Cooper, Iremonger. This mayor was A good man for the comon wealth of the Cittye: God increase the Nomber of the lyke!

“1567.—Richard Dutton, Maior. He kepte howse at the White Freeyers, and inth' all the twelve dayes of Christmas kepte open howse, for meate and drinke at meale tyme, for any that came. All the Christmas tyme was a Lo: of Misrule.

“1573.—Richard Dutton, Esq., again Mayor, was a worthy stoute Maior who kepte good hospitallitye. He was a Citizin borne.

“1584.—On the 24 July, beinge St. James's Day, frome noone til Midnight there was contynuall thunder and Lighteninge, Raine, and hayle, without intermission, Soe that the waters did arise vpon the suddaine, as that they overflowed the streetes and Rann into the Cellars in greate abonndance,

Manye mills and waterworkes overthrowne, much Corne and haye destroyed, which caused a graet dearth through out this kindome many yeares after. Also manye glasse windoes broken with the hayle, beinge some of them five ynces compasse, and manye Cattell slaine by lighteninge, the lyke was never seene by any that then lived.

"1598.—10th April.—The Earle of Essex came to this Cittye to go for Ireland, as Leutenannt to her Majestie. He was honorably received by the Cittizins; he was banqueted in the Pentice with his Attendants, and was presented in the name of the Cittye with a guilt bowl and 60 Angells, by Mr. Thomas Greene, the most auncient Alderman, Mr. Maior beinge sicke and absent.

The 26th September, Earle Essex returned out of Ireland, and dep'ted towards the Courte. The same day of the Earle's return, the funerall of Sr. Thomas Edgerton, knight, sonne and heire to Sr. Thomas Edgerton, knight, Lord Chaunclor of England, was solempnised in the Cathederall Church here, where the lord Bpp. Vaughan preached. He died in Ireland, and was interred at Doddelson. The funerall dynner kept in the Bishopp's Pallace. Mr. Maior, (Richard Raborne), did governe his place with greate discretion, and to his greate commendations from the Counsell at London, it beinge such a troublesom yeaere for her Majestie's service, and he A man that coulede nether wryte nor reade.

"1599.—Theire was soe manye soldiers and straungers in Chester, that all the townes about the Cittye were taken up for lodginges, for horses and men. Manye soldiers unrulie and disordered, and many Run'e Awayes. Mr. Maior caused a Jebbett to be set vp at the high Crosse To terrefye them. Mr. Maior, (Hy. Hardware), would not suffer the Gyaunts to be sett forth at the Watch at midsomer, as they had bene before tymes accustomed. Ho kepte a worshippfull howse, gyvinge enterteynem't vnto knights and gentl'n of good fashions, and kynd vnto his friends and neighbours.

"1601.—This year all corne measures were called in and reformed by proclamation, wherevpon the olde brasen hoope, formerly used here, was sent vp, and we re[ceived] a new brasen gallon, q'art, and pint, and without any allowance for our brasse, there was payde in London for the other the some of viijli (£8).

"1602.—In the moneth of November, the monument of Mr. Offeley's, of London, was set up in St. Peter's Church, in this cittye.

"1603.—The Great Bell of the Abbey taken downe and new caste, and whereas before there was but three they were made five, and hong up in the great square steeple.

"1606.—In this year contraversies betwixt the citizens and the Prebysn in the Cathedrall Church, as concerning their authoritie in the Church, which was afterwards qualified by agreement.—Mr. Hynks, butcher, did ride his horse about the walls of this cittye, before Jo. Tirer could gather up 60 litell stones which lay one yard in sunder, to be taken one after another, and put into a basket where the first stone lay, which wager or bett Mr. Hynks won.

"1607.—A gallery buylt at the Rode eye for Mr. Maior and the Aldermen (to view the Races).

"1609.—The speire of the steeple of the Blessed Trinity poynted by one John Brooks, a stranger. In taking down of the weather cocke there was found in the belly of the same a birdes nest, with nine eggs, which was marvellous to the beholders. Mr. Robert Amerye, ironmonger, caused a shoe to be made at the High Cross before the Maior by younge Ympes, who made each one of them a speech in honour of St. George, and after, a Horse Race on the Rode eye, and a runninge at the Ring, with other sports commendable.—In this year the plague began in Thomas Tomlinson's house, in Goose-lane, and did disperse it selfe in many parts of the cittye—the sick sent to the Cabins.

"1612.—Mr. Maior, Robert Whitby, gentleman, caused the pottel potes, quarts, and pints to be brought unto him into the Pentice, and there to be measured. Such as wanted measure he caused Joseph Gilham to smite a great hole in the syde of them. Upon the 18th daye of March, being Thursday morninge, about seven of the clock did happen an earth quake in this cittye that it made the foundation of the earth to shake and tremble, with churches and houses. Mr. Robert Amerye, iremonger, who had bene sheriffe in the maioraltie of Mr. Wm. Gamul, merchant, in the year 1608, also he beinge the only man which first caused the Horse Race to be run on the Roodes Dee upon St. George's day, and also upon his owne cost and charges caused the Dyeall and two knockers at the south syde of St. Peter's steeple to be made and sett up, giuing warninge upon two litell bells. The said Mr. Amerye died the 23rd September, 1612, and was buried at St. Bryde's Church."

Mr. AYRTON proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. HUGHES for his kindness in reading the above extracts, and hoped ere long they might have the pleasure of hearing more details of such an interesting document.

The motion was cordially agreed to, and

Mr. HUGHES, in acknowledging the compliment, said they ought to feel thankful to the DEAN for requesting their new acquisition to CHESTER to take the Chair that evening. In some shape or other they ought to claim him as a Cheshire man. The name of KINGSLEY belonged to the county; there was a township, as there was also a family, of the same name long associated with the county. He (Mr. HUGHES) was not aware whether the Rev. CANON was able to trace his connection with that family, but he had no donbt that to KINGSLEY in CHESHIRE must be attributed the name which he bore. There was another reason why he was personally gratified to see the Rev. Gentleman there that night, and as one of the Canons of CHESTER CATHEDRAL. Many

years ago he was impertinent enough to write to the Rev. CHARLES KINGSLEY asking him whether there was really any foundation for the very beautiful and touching poem which he (Mr. HUGHES) read at the time, entitled "Mary, call the cattle home, across the sands o' Dee,"—a beautiful little poem, wrapt up in as compact a compass as any effort of the sort in the language. He was somewhat disappointed to hear from Mr. KINGSLEY that the poem was the emanation of his own brain, and that there was no positive foundation for it in fact. The Rev. CANON might have forgotten that trivial matter by this time, but he (Mr. HUGHES) never should. He had much pleasure in proposing that a vote of thanks be given to the Chairman for the remarks with which he had favoured them.

Mr. MEADOWS FROST said he had much pleasure in seconding the vote, and he might tell Canon KINGSLEY that no man had received a more hearty welcome there than he. (Applause.) The name of CHARLES KINGSLEY was so well known and highly honoured that it could receive no additional lustre from the appendage of Canon. His heart was imbued with the spirit of love for his fellow-creatures; and his admiration of the good qualities of the working-classes, and his candid portraiture of them, had done more good than innumerable sermons.

The CHAIRMAN said he was exceedingly obliged to them for the very unexpected and kind way in which they had proposed a vote of thanks to him. His own feeling in coming to CHESTER was certainly that he was coming home. Of course, Kingsley at one time belonged to his ancestors, and he supposed he was now at the head of the family,—a landless gentleman, but still having a feeling of pride at his connection with the county. An old Tarporley Hunt by song Mr. EGERTON WARBURTON says:—

In right of his bugle and greyhounds to seize
 Waif, pannage, agistment, and wind-fallen trees;
 His knaves through Din forests Ralph Kingsley dispersed,
 Bow-bearer-in-chief to Earl Randal the First!
 This Horn the Grand Forester wore at his side
 Whene'er his liege lord chose a hunting to ride—
 By Sir Ralph and his heirs for a century blown,
 It passed from their lips to the mouth of a Done!

He had a sort of pride in being a Cheshire man, and was glad to come back to a county with which he had many associations, and where he had many friends; and he had no higher ambition than to live and die amongst them,—a Canon of CHESTER CATHEDRAL. He was by no means an ambitious man, in the sense that the world called ambition. If he could find time to make himself useful to them in any way, one wish of his life would be accomplished. If he were able to help in his usual way any Society in this ancient City,—any Literary or Social, or Scientific Society, or Mechanics' Institution, he could only beg the good citizens of Chester to call upon him, and he would be at their service. He did not wish to thrust himself forward, or originate anything grand, or put himself in anybody's way; but if anyone would find any reasonable work for a somewhat hard-worked man to do, he would always be ready to do it, and be at the service of the good citizens of Chester without regard to creed, politics, or rank in any way whatever. He could only thank the gentleman who had done him the honour of saying a few kind but undeserved words in his favour in seconding the resolution, and say that he would try not to forfeit the good opinion he (Mr. FROST) had somewhat hastily formed of him.

The vote passed by acclamation, and the meeting then terminated.

Before dismissing the subject of *Condote*, at all events for the present, from the SOCIETY'S arena for discussion, it seems only fair to the "other side," viz.:—to those who still claim *Kinderton* as the true site of the disputed Station,—to preserve in the *Journal* the following Letter from one who has for almost a generation fought vigorously for *Kinderton*. The letter was contributed to the *Chester Courant* of May 18th, 1870, and runs as follows:—

C O N D A T E .

To the Editor of the Chester Courant.

Sir,—All who take an interest in this subject must agree with Canon Kingsley,—that "what they wanted was accuracy,—patient, careful induction from fact, simply to get at the truth," Dr. Robson has ably argued this question in his Paper recently read before the Chester Archæological Society, but the main fact on which the whole argument is based (to show that Wilderspool is *Condote*) is this,—that the distances between *Mamucio* and *Condote*, and *Condote* and *Deva*, given in the *Iter of Antonine*, exactly accord

with the actual distances between Manchester and Wilderspool and Wilderspool and Chester. Now, as to the locality of *Condæ*, several other writers have come to a different conclusion, though these are very summarily disposed of by the Doctor, with the exception of Whittaker and the late Archdeacon Wood. There is one thing in which they all I think agree, and that is the *inaccuracy* of the *Iter* of Antonine. The Doctor says of this, after giving an illustration of the vagueness of Ptolemy,—“another document equally important, but in some respects still more imperfect, is the *Itinerarium* of Antoninus. The object of the work has not hitherto been elucidated, and doubts have been expressed as to the period in which it was composed. I have no hesitation in expressing my belief that it is neither more nor less than a book of the Post Roads formed and managed for and by the Imperial Government.” “A portion of the second of these Post Routes runs from York to Chester; and is thus described:—

| | | |
|-----------|------------|-------------|
| Eburacum | | York. |
| Calcaria | M.P. ix | Tadcaster. |
| Camboduno | „ xx | |
| Mamucio | „ xviii | Manchester. |
| Condæ | „ xviii | |
| Deva Leg. | xx vic. xx | Chester. |

It is evident that one or more Post Stations have been omitted here, as the actual distance between York and Chester is 106 miles against the 85 miles of the *Itinerary*,”—a discrepancy of 21 miles. This inaccuracy is the difficulty that other writers have encountered, and acknowledged in dealing with the question, and have been obliged to have recourse to speculation; but the Doctor does not speculate at all. He first throws discredit upon his evidence, and then adopts it explicitly to make out his case. Suppose (it is quite legitimate) Wilderspool should be in reality the “one Post Station” which the Doctor says has evidently been omitted from the *Iter* (it may, however, have been obliterated in the original MS. by a mouse or damp), and *Condæ* stood next (as it would do), then Kinderton, as regards distance, *exactly fits in*. Though the Doctor has, no doubt, overlooked, and does not notice it, Archdeacon Wood states that there *was* a Roman road from Kinderton to Chester, and that he had himself traced it a short distance. Percival, in the *London Archaeological Society's Journal*, Vol. I, p. 70, mentions this road, and he says also, “I have traced the Roman roads from Manchester with the utmost care, and find that the *Condæ* of the Romans was Kinderton, in Cheshire. The road is visible almost all the way, and the Camp yet visible in Kinderton, where the Dane and the Weaver join; *there is a roadway from thence to Chester*, another to Chesterton, near Newcastle-under-Lyme, and another by Nantwich and Whitechurch to Wroxeter.” Dr. Robson is quite mistaken in supposing that until the late Archdeacon Wood “found the Roman remains in the Harboro field, there really was no evidence that the Romans had occupied the spot at all.” Percival wrote in 1760; and when the Trent and Mersey Canal was cut (partly intersecting the site of the Camp), more than a century ago, many Roman

remains were found, as I have been told on good local authority. It is probably a misprint in your paper, but King-street is not "*West*" of Northwich. I mention this as the Doctor appears to attach some importance to the position of this road. The *Iter* referred to appears to be the only authority on which reliance can be placed as to the names and distances of the Stations; and the imperfections of this are acknowledged to be such, that if Wilderspool has no better evidence to fix it as *Condote*, it may have been either there, Northwich, or Middlewich, and the question at issue seems to be really left very much where it was.

B. LL VAWDREY.

Tushingham Hall, 12th May, 1870.

June 13. Mr. GILBERT SCOTT, R.A., the eminent Architect under whose direction the CATHEDRAL is being restored, gave a Lecture at the Old KING'S SCHOOL on Wednesday afternoon, upon "THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF CHESTER CATHEDRAL." The Lecture was under the auspices of the CHESTER ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY, and there was a numerous attendance. Among those present were the Bishop of Western New York, the DEAN OF CHESTER, the Dean of St. Asaph, the Rev. CANON KINGSLEY, Rev. Canon Eaton, Rev. Canon Glynne, Rev. E. L. Y. Deacle, Rev. W. B. Marsden, Rev. C. Bowen, Rev. E. Marston, Rev. R. W. Gleadowe, Sir T. G. Frost, Sir S. R. Glynne, Mr. W. Wynne Ffoulkes, Mr. Thomas Hughes, F.S.A., Mr. F. A. Frost, Mr. C. Potts, Mr. C. W. Duncan, Dr. Waters, &c.

The DEAN having been invited by Mr. WYNNE FFOULKES to take the Chair, said he supposed they would expect some prefatory remarks from him, but the last they would wish was that those prefatory remarks should be many. He ought, perhaps, to tell them how it was that this Lecture had been arranged for that occasion. During the process of restoring their CATHEDRAL a great many interesting facts had come to view, and it seemed highly desirable that they should be arranged in some lucid order, so that the public might have the advantage of understanding them, and obviously there was no person so well able to do that as Mr. SCOTT himself. (Hear, hear.) Therefore he (the DEAN) frequently harassed him, he supposed,—(a laugh),—with the request that he would do them this favour, and give them a LECTURE upon this subject; and he had been kind enough to comply with

that request. Another arrangement which seemed to be desirable was this, that the Lecture should coincide as nearly as possible in time with the meeting which was held the day before. He was not going to allude to what happened in another place, but he thought they would agree with him that after what took place yesterday it was fortunate they had met to-day. While the arrangements for that meeting were going on, the representatives of the ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY came to him and asked him if they could not combine in the preparations for that LECTURE, and he thought the bargain they proposed was a good one; for while that SOCIETY would gain the honour of Mr. SCOTT's credit, they of the CATHEDRAL would be saved all the trouble and reap all the benefit. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) Therefore, the arrangements made for that day were not those of the capitular body, but of the CHESTER ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY. He thought it was a matter for congratulation that there was so large a meeting, and he believed there never had been a case in the history of the ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY when the attendance was so large as it was then. He was not at all surprised that this should be the case, and he thought Mr. SCOTT might be congratulated on the extreme interest and enthusiasm now surrounding the work he was bringing forward. (Applause.) There was just one other subject on which he wished to be allowed to make a remark. He hoped they would fully appreciate the opportunity given to them for really understanding many things, which they could not understand in the absence of any competent guide. Several things in the CATHEDRAL had been brought to view which had long been concealed,—things which might have escaped the notice of the casual observer,—and he hoped when the LECTURE was over they would go to the CATHEDRAL, and go over the ground which Mr. SCOTT was prepared to elucidate to them. Everyone must be struck with the appearance of the Nave for the last two years and a half, contrasted with what they had been accustomed to see in former years; and no one could have helped seeing the great benefit to be derived from having plenty of space in the CATHEDRAL. (Hear, hear.) They would remember that the Bishop of Manchester spoke with great force on the breadth and space of our Cathedrals; and if there was a subject in which he (the DEAN) took great interest, it was not alone the work

of Restoration,—although no one would think him indifferent to that,—it was that of doing real religious good through the CATHEDRAL to the souls of men! Therefore, gathering the people into the CATHEDRAL was the thing he cared most about; and with that, he desired them to remember that an abundance of space was conducive to the dignity of all their proceedings. Now came the point to which he wished to call their special attention. If the Parishioners of ST. OSWALD's were released from the trammels by which they were at present fettered, and could have other parochial accommodation; then he conceived the South Transept could be thrown open and included with the Nave, together with the space under the Tower; and when that was done they could have congregations quite as large as assembled now, partly in the eastern portion of the Nave, partly in the southern portion, and partly in the South Transept and under the Tower; with, at the same time, an abundance of space around them, and one great, grand, ramified, and magnificent roof above them. (Hear, hear, and applause.) This, however, depended upon the will of the People of CHESTER and the Public at large, and if they had the same desire as he had, this would be effected; and if this were the feeling of the Public, and it were expressed, he would promise to work hard in order that this result might be realised. (Applause.) The DEAN concluded by calling upon Mr. GILBERT SCOTT to deliver his promised LECTURE. [For a full and well-illustrated edition of this important local LECTURE, reference should be made to the current Vol. of the CHESTER ARCHEOLOGICAL SOCIETY's *Journal*, pp. 159-182.]

Votes of thanks having been given to the LECTURER and Chairman, the company followed the Lecturer from the KING'S SCHOOL to the CHAPTER HOUSE, where he commenced to point out in detail those features in the CATHEDRAL to which he had referred in his Lecture. The CHAPTER HOUSE he regarded as one of the most beautiful rooms he knew of the 13th century. Its exact age was not known; probably it might be placed in the latter quarter of that century. In its predecessor many of the Abbots, including the great SIMON OF WHITCHURCH, were buried, but what became of their tombs he could not say. He thought it probable that the light of the western window was borrowed, and that at one time the Monks' dormitory came up to it. Passing to the North Transept, he called

attention to the veritable work of Earl HUGH LUPUS, which was to be seen in the arcade over the head of the arch. From the eastern side, up to the end of the 12th century, projected an apsidal chapel, and the outline of the arch by which that was entered, had been disclosed by the taking off of the plaster. The piscina was not earlier than 1290 or 1300. Passing through the Vestry, where the details of the Norman arch were more clearly disclosed, Mr. SCOTT then led the way to the outside of the North Aisle, where he called attention to the base of one of the enormous buttresses, then to the corner of the Lady Chapel, where the lighter buttresses were found which gave the true position of the windows and the direction of the mullions. On the south side of the Lady Chapel he called attention to the pierced parapet and toothed ornament discovered when the roof was removed; and also pointed out the arch above the end of the South Aisle, which bore a spire,—and the aisle about being constructed in an apsidal form. Farther on he noticed the sloping form of the buttresses, and a doorway which the DEAN said was used as an entrance to the Choir at one time by the Benedictine Monks, the tomb of RANULPH HIGDEN, the author of the “Polychronicon,” being near it. From this point the Lecturer passed on to the South Transept, then into ST. OSWALD’S CHURCH, where he spoke of the Chapels of St. Nicholas and Mary Magdalen; and referred to the sedilia of the former. From thence the route was into the South Aisle, through the Choir, to the end of the North Aisle, but not into the Lady Chapel; then back to the Choir and through the Nave to the westward, and into the Norman Tower; but here the perambulation ended, as it was near five o’clock, the time for evening prayers.

The party separated after a second vote of thanks had been unanimously tendered to Mr. GILBERT SCOTT for this additional service conferred upon the SOCIETY.

1871.

March 21. An ordinary meeting of this SOCIETY was held this evening, at the Society’s apartments, in the old Episcopal Palace, Abbey Square. There was a considerable attendance of Members and their friends, and many ladies. The Chair was occupied by the Rev. CANON EATON.

Mr. W. BEAMONT read a Paper on "SHAKESPEARE'S HENRY IV., pointing out the frequent allusions in that drama, and in contemporary history, to CHESHIRE and CHESHIRE MEN." [The First Part of this Paper will be found at length in our SOCIETY'S *Journal*, Vol. II., pp. 215-246.]

Mr. HUGHES having remarked that Mr. BEAMONT was one of the best friends the SOCIETY had had since its establishment, said he was glad to be able to inform the Members that some half-dozen friends and brother Members, including Mr. BEAMONT, had kindly promised to lecture during the coming Session; and, if all fulfilled their promises, he had no doubt that the present would be one of the most successful Sessions of the SOCIETY. Referring to the Paper just read, Mr. HUGHES said that it had been stated by Mr. BEAMONT that Sir RICHARD VENABLES, of Kinderton, had died on the field of SHREWSBURY. On a former occasion he (Mr. Hughes) took the opportunity of questioning whether he had really fallen there, and whether he had not, as others had alleged, been taken prisoner there and afterwards beheaded. Which of the two statements was the true one he did not know; but it was a matter of historical fact, and one which they were in a position to prove, that whereas Sir RICHARD VENABLES' property was seized, on account of his treason, by King Henry IV., the estates remained in the King's hands for a considerable time, and a Pardon was afterwards granted to WILLIAM VENABLES, Constable of CHESTER, a brother of SIR RICHARD. He (Mr. HUGHES) had that Pardon in his own possession, in the shape of a deed re-granting portion of the property previously confiscated. The document recorded the fact that a Pardon had been granted to the family of the VENABLES in the person of WILLIAM DE VENABLES, Constable of CHESTER CASTLE: and it restored to him,—as one not of the direct line from him attainted of treason,—a large proportion of the property taken under the attainder; and it at the same time very considerably provided that WILLIAM DE VENABLES should pay a certain amount per annum to the widow of SIR RICHARD. The document, which was the original one, bore the Royal Seal. Mr. HUGHES concluded by informing the Members that the first of this series of Lectures by Mr. BEAMONT, viz., that on "Richard the Second," was printed in the volume of the SOCIETY'S *Transactions*, then in the hands

of the binder, and which would, he hoped, in a short time be in the hands of every Member of the the SOCIETY. A large amount of pains had been taken in the illustration and preparation of the Volume; and he hoped when issued it would be found to be one of the most interesting and perhaps the best illustrated the SOCIETY had yet issued.

GRANT OF ARMS TO CHESTER CITY.

MR. AYRTON (by permission of the Mayor) exhibited the original grant of a Coat of Arms to the City of CHESTER, by WILLIAM FLOWER, Norroy King of Arms, in 1580, and read the following short paper illustrative of this very curious local document :—

It may make the perusal of this deed more interesting if I venture to preface it with a few very brief remarks on the honourable science of HERALDRY; of which, however, I can only pretend to a mere smattering acquaintance, and shall feel very much indebted to those much better versed in the mysteries of this very abstruse and, almost, obsolete science to correct or confirm what I shall to-night say. Heraldry proper, as an established profession, dates from about the 12th century; though no doubt distinctive devices or insignia were borne from a very early period, more at the caprice of the owner, or by national custom, than by any established authority. In fact, we have instances of national and of military insignia from the earliest ages. The Egyptian Ox, the Athenian Owl, and the Roman Eagle occur readily to our memory. The standards and symbols of the Jewish tribes are alluded to in the Scriptures. The White Horse of the Saxons, and similar clannish devices, were recognised long anterior to the acceptance of Heraldry as a science, or the reduction of its laws to the rules of an acknowledged profession. It has been contended that instances occur of the emblazonment of arms at an earlier period than the 12th century, and some MSS. exist in which the Saxon Kings are represented as having their shields duly charged; but it is sufficient to remark that these MSS. are belonging to a later date, and the anachronisms betray their inaccuracy.

If we were to trust the dictum of *all* heraldic enthusiasts, we could not have a better specimen than the extent to which they will go in riding their hobby, than is given by that heraldic fancier, *Morgan* (Welsh of course!) who pretends to give us the coat of

arms proper to Adam and Eve, and which he asserts they bore. To Adam he assigns a shield—*Gules*, and to Eve another, *Argent*, which latter Adam bore over his as an inescutcheon, his wife being sole heiress ! He also tells us that after the fall Adam bore a garland of fig leaves, which Abel quartered with *Argent* an *Apple Vert*—in right of his mother.

The Crusades led to the first general bearing of some distinctive device on the arms of warriors, though it was then rather national or clannish than personal ; thus the badge borne by the English was a white cross, worn on the right shoulder of their surcoats ; the French cross was red, the Flemish green, and the Roman States bore two keys in saltire. It was not until the return of RICHARD THE FIRST from Palestine that he assumed for his device the three lions *passant guardant*, which have ever since been borne as the Royal Arms of England. Tournaments shortly after gave an additional impetus to Heraldry ; and it became the custom for knights to assume devices which they considered had a reference to their position or deeds, and which became the arms of their descendants. At the same time it was deemed absolutely incumbent upon every knight or noble to achieve the right to such insignia by some honourable action, either on the battle-field or in the lists,—which gave him the title to the *achievement*,—until which he carried his shield plain. The Welsh bard, Hywel ap Owain Gwynedd, alludes to this in lamenting his failure at a bardic contest. “Another carries the apple spray, whilst my shield remains white upon my shoulder, not blazoned with the desired achievement.” Old Gwyllim remarks—page 395—that the word “achievement” belongs properly only to such coats of arms as belong to persons to whom supporters are, either by law or custom, properly due ; and that in some countries the assumption of supporters is not permitted to any person inferior to the degree of a knight.

Before the College of Heralds became a court of appeal and of judgment, many disputes arose in consequence of different families arbitrarily assuming the same insignia : and an appeal to the force of arms was a frequent, and not inappropriate method of deciding the issue. An interesting instance of this occurred in 1389, when the three families of SCROPE, CARNEGOW, and GROSVENOR, bore similar arms—“*Azure, a bend or !*” The

contest between SCROPE and CARNEGOW was not conclusive, and ultimately both families were permitted to bear the same arms, which they still do. In the trial between Lord SCROPE and Sir RICHARD GROSVENOR, the latter was forbidden to carry such arms, unless he surmounted them with a silver bordure as a dimidiation. This he refused to do, and assumed, or was permitted to bear, in its stead, "*Azure, a garb or*," part of the arms of the EARLDOM OF CHESTER, to which he was by courtesy entitled through his descent from RANDOLF DE MESCHINES.

By the middle of the fifteenth century the right of certain families to certain insignia was so defined, and so well recognised, that we find in some writings of the period the family device takes the place of the name. Thus in the old ballad entitled, "The Battle of Towton," the writer thus designates the Earls of March and Warwick, Lord Fauconburg and Lord Scrope of Bolton :—

The way into the North Contre, the *Rose* full fast he saught,
W't hym went ye *Ragged Staf*, y't many men dere bought,
The *Fissh* he hoke came into the felde with full egre mode,
So did the *Cornyshe Chowghe*, and brot fort all hir brode.

The next era in the progress of Heraldry may be considered as the adoption of the Tabard, by which royal and other accredited heralds sought to ensure the dignity and consideration due to their rank. Its origin may be traced to the surcoat or loose robe which the knights wore over their armour to protect their coat of mail from rust and rain, and themselves from the heat by which the sun would have made the armour unbearable. "Neither hath this habit escaped transformation, but hath passed through the forge of *phanticall* conciet, insomuch that (beside the bare name) there remaineth neither shape nor *shadow* of a *mantle* ; for how can it be imagined that a piece of cloth, or of whatsoever other stuff, that is jagged and frownced after the manner of our common received *manteling*, being imposed upon the shoulders of a man should serve to any of the purposes for which mantles were ordained ? So that these, being compared with those, may be more fitly termed *flourishings* than *mantelings*.—Gwyllim, p. 397." About the close of the 13th century this surcoat was embroidered with armorial bearings. The surcoat being found inconvenient from its length, was succeeded by the Cyclas, a somewhat shorter

garment, which, in its turn, was replaced by the Jupon,—a surcoat without sleeves, reaching only to the waist, and in the embroidery and ornamentation of which King Richard II., and his frivolous court, went to the most extravagant excess. By the addition of sleeves to the Jupon, the Tabard was eventually made an institution in Heraldry, which has ever since belonged to Kings at Arms and Heralds as their official costume ; and been their title to consideration and respect, whenever bearing peaceful or hostile messages between contending princes. It was an offence which involved capital punishment to strike a Herald ; and to counterfeit the character of a Herald, not being such by the diploma of the College at Arms, was considered treason. An amusing illustration of this occurs in Sir Walter Scott's novel of *Quentin Durward*, where an imposition is attempted by a messenger on Louis the 11th and the Duke of Burgundy, and where the penalty incurred by the impostor is quaintly described.

I may here, by way of parenthesis, introduce to your notice a very valuable MS. volume, which I am enabled to exhibit and refer to, by the kindness of the MARQUIS OF WESTMINSTER: which contains the very voluminous evidence in the famous suit of RICHARD LE SCROP *versus* ROBERT GROSVENOR, and in which each party contended for the sole right to bear as their arms—*azure, a bend or*. Upwards of 180 witnesses, most of them men of distinguished rank and high military reputation, were examined by the commission appointed. The suit lasted six or seven years, and the final result was that the arms were awarded to LE SCROP ; but ROBERT GROSVENOR was permitted to bear them with a *bordure argent* as a dimidiation ; this was, however, an indignity he could not submit to, and he adopted the arms of his ancestor RANDOLPH. It would fatigue you too much to do more than take a cursory glance at this ponderous volume—a striking illustration of man's vanity and pride—but select the evidence of two witnesses, interesting from the associations personally connected with them—CHAUCER the Poet, and HUGH DE CALVELEY, so celebrated in the brilliant pages of FROISSART :—

“GEOFFREY CHAUCER, Esquier, of the age of 40 and more, bearing arms for 27 years, appearing on the part of Monsr. RICHARD SCROP, sworn and examined. Questioned if the arms *azure* with a *bend or* appertained or ought

to appertain to the said Sir RICHARD SCROP of right and heritage ; replies Yes, for he had seen them to be so armed in France before the Ville de Betters ; and Monsr. HENRY L'ESCROP armed in the like manner in his full coat, together with a label *blanc* and a banner, and the said Monsr. RICHARD armed *azure* with a bend *or*, and afterwards he saw them so armed on the whole journey until he, the said GEOFFREY, was taken. Questioned if for what he knew the said arms belonged to the said Monsr. RICHARD—replied that from what he had heard say from old Knights and Esquiers, that they had always remained in possession of the said arms ; and for all his time their arms were so reported by common consent, fame, and public voice ; and also he says that he had seen the said armes in paintings and vestments, and they were commonly called the armes of le SCROP. Questioned if he had at any time heard who was the first ancestor of the said Monsr. RICHARD who first carried the said armes—replied No, nor that he had heard, any time, except that they were come of ancestors who, as gentlemen, were possessed of the said armes. Questioned if he had ever heard for how long a time the ancestors of the said Monsr. RICHARD had used these armes—replies No, but that he had heard say that it passed the memory of man. Questioned if he had heard at any time of any interruption or challenge made by Monsr. ROBERT GROSVENOR or by his ancestors, or by any of his name, to the said Monsr. RICHARD or to any of his ancestors—replies No, but that he was one time in Friday Street in London ; and as he went along the street he saw hanging out a new sign made of the said armes, which at the *herbergarie* where it was, he asked who it was that had hung out these armes of SCROP—some other one answered and said ‘ No, they are not hung there for his armes, but they are painted and put there for a Knight of the County of Chester, which man was called Monsr. ROBERT GROSVENOR,’ and that was the first time that ever he heard speak of Monsr. ROBERT GROSVENOR, or of his ancestors, or of any other bearing the name of Grosvenor.”

“ HUGH DE CALVELEY, of the County of CHESTER, required by the Commissioners, sworn and examined to tell the truth between Monsr. RICHARD LE SCROP and Monsr. ROBERT GROSVENOR, of the right of one and the other, replies that he has seen and known Monsr. RICHARD LE SCROP to be armed and to train his banner *azure* with bend *or* ; but that he has heard say that Monsr. ROBERT GROSVENOR had more right to the said arms than Monsr. LE SCROP ; and says that the first time that he saw the said Monsr. ROBERT GROSVENOR to be armed with the arms *azure* with a bend *or* was at the last journey in Scotland with our lord the King.”

About the reign of Edward the Third was introduced the custom of granting what were termed ‘ *Augmentations*,’ which, as the term implies, were supposed to convey additional honour if not rank, and of which we shall find a specimen in the deed before us. Under this name were introduced helmets and coronets over the

shield, and supporters on each side of it; these frequently had some meaning relative to the family whose arms were emblazoned, though usually of an altogether fanciful character. Lastly, there was formerly a practice indicating the very reverse of additional honour; being styled an 'abatement,' by which a knight or noble who incurred censure on account of any unworthy or dishonourable action, had to suffer such erasure from his coat of arms as was deemed sufficient penalty. The consequence is alluded to by Shakespeare—

"Yet though I die, the scandal will survive,
And be an eyesore in my golden coat,
Some loathsome dash the Herald will contrive
To cypher me."

I should have been glad to compare this Document with similar grants of armorial bearings, which belong no doubt to most of our ancient cities (as this deed itself recites), but I had none within my reach. The only book on the science of Heraldry which I possess (by Cussans) gives only two examples, of which, singularly enough, those of the City of CHESTER are one. At page 149 he says:—

"The City of CHESTER impales the Lions of England with the arms of the Earldom: *Azure, three Garbs or.* In this case the dexter Garb in chief is completely *absconded* from the shield."

NOTE.—The sword which is the crest of the City Arms refers to the high dignity and sovereignty conferred on HUGH LUPUS by his uncle, WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR, to hold the County and Earldom of CHESTER of himself,—"*Tam liberè ad gladium, sicut ipse Rex tenebat Angliam ad coronam.*" Consequently in all legal proceedings from the Courts at Westminster, other than at CHESTER, the pleas ran—" *Contra Coronam et dignitatem regis,*" but in the County Palatine these pleas were constantly expressed as "*Contra dignitatem gladii Cestrie.*"

Mr. HUGHES mentioned that, when the present Cattle Market was erected some twenty years ago, the Council of the day went to the trouble of having the City Arms placed on its gates and walls. These arms were identically the same as those which had been improperly used in the 16th century: and thus the Council of but twenty years ago perpetuated the very error which had then, and more or less ever since, been in existence. Even the city policemen,

instead of having the proper arms on their collar, continued to bear those that were spurious! Mr. AYRTON had drawn attention to the Roll of the GROSVENOR FAMILY, kindly lent for exhibition by LORD WESTMINSTER: this Roll, he might state, was arranged in chronological order down to the middle of last century, from which period it had not been continued. He once suggested to the late LORD WESTMINSTER the propriety of having the Roll continued, but he replied that Heraldry was "not very much in his way; he was satisfied with things as he found them, and had no personal wish to see his own name included in the list." Whether the present MARQUIS would, through the Heralds' College, continue the Roll, time would tell.

Mr. HUGHES then proceeded to show some Heraldic Documents of Local interest, which he had brought from his own private store. He showed a large volume in which was emblazoned the Pedigree and Arms of the SAVAGES OF ROCK SAVAGE, a family which he stated became extinct about the beginning of the last century, and bore a name that once figured in the peerage of the realm. A fine house built, he believed, by the last peer was, within fifty years of its erection, a mass of ruins; and it was recorded that a pack of hounds followed a fox through the ruins within sixty years after the mansion had been built!

Another Document he had the pleasure of possessing was one to him of extreme interest: it was the Heraldic Pedigree of the GAMULS of CHESTER, who intermarried with the BREREWOODS. The document was one of considerable interest to the City: for there was scarcely a member on the male side who appeared on the Roll, that had not, down to the extinction of the family in the last century, been either Mayor or Sheriff, or held some other office in connection with the City. This Pedigree ended with the children of SIR FRANCIS GAMUL, a celebrated man, and whose name was endeared to every loyal CHESHIRE man, as being one who fought for KING CHARLES, and stood by his side on the top of the PHENIX TOWER to witness the Battle of ROWTON MOOR. He was made a Baronet by KING CHARLES, but he believed the patent was never completed. In the document now exhibited, he was however recorded as actually being a Baronet. He had a son, but he died

in the wars, and left him without a successor. Mr. HUGHES then drew attention to the discovery made in the ruins of ST. JOHN'S on the previous day, March 20th, 1871, while the men were sinking in what appeared to be stone rubble; but which on further examination proved to be some splendid bosses belonging perhaps to the latter end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century. These had been cleaned for the purposes of inspection, and as they would be left in the open air but for a short time he hoped the Members would take the opportunity of seeing them. They were a beautiful series. One was a representation of the Annunciation—the Angel Gabriel announcing to the Virgin the birth or coming of Our Lord. This was a remarkable piece of sculpture of the Early Decorated period, and in conjunction with the others would well repay a visit from any Member of the SOCIETY. Mr. HUGHES also stated that the Hon. WILBRAHAM EGERTON, M.P., eldest son of LORD EGERTON OF TATTON, had that morning presented the SOCIETY with a volume entitled "*The Cheshire Gentry of 1715*," drawn from their portraits at ASHLEY HALL. It was a private print, and he had kindly requested the SOCIETY'S acceptance of it. He (Mr. Hughes) had looked over the book, and found that it contained a biography of the more prominent of the Cheshire Gentry, who sided mainly with the Jacobites in the first Rebellion of 1715.

The CHAIRMAN said, when he was Rector of ST. MARY'S, his attention was called to a very important old monument there which was then in a very dilapidated state. He set about to find a representative of the family, and from what he discovered he thought he might dispute what Mr. HUGHES had stated as to the extinction of the GAMUL family: for he found a Mr. Gamul Farmer, living in the County of Surrey, and he claimed (of course through a female source), but with what truth he did not know, that he was the descendant of the family, and placed £20 at his disposal for the restoration of the Monument, which was now to be seen in the extreme north-east corner of the Church. There were also one or two other interesting Monuments in the Church. There was one there to RANDAL HOLMES, the great Antiquary and Heraldic Scholar, which he was also able to get restored. One of the

OLDFIELD family also lay there, but that Monument he was unable to get restored during his time. SIR FRANCIS GAMUL lived in St. Mary's Parish, in Boarding-school Yard, a place which would, at the present time, be quite unworthy of the residence of a Baronet. He believed that Mr. Farmer was a descendant of the family, as well as Mr. Edwards, of Aldford.

Mr. HUGHES said the FARMERS of Mollington, or rather of Crabwall, and the EDWARDS family, of Farndon, were connections of the GAMUL family, but on the female side. What he meant when he said the family was extinct was, of course, that it was extinct in the *male* line. He believed there had been no members of that family bearing the surname of GAMUL, in or very near CHESTER, since the middle of the last century.

Mr. R. E. EGERTON WARBURTON proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. BEAMONT and Mr. AYRTON for the interesting papers they had read.

Alderman M. FROST briefly seconded the proposition.

Mr. BEAMONT, in returning thanks, said that in the trial between SCROPE and GROSVENOR as to who should bear the shield "azure with a bend or," 184 witnesses were examined on that single point. Some proved that the shield had been borne at the Siege of Acre in the time of Richard the First. Among the witnesses called were three sovereigns, three dukes, a score of earls, and he could not tell them how many knights. Amongst the rest was a labourer, or husbandman, who lived at BRADLEY, in CHESHIRE. He said he was 70 years of age, and that the GROSVENORS had painted these arms on the Cross at BRADLEY, as he recollected them being there ever since he was a boy. The trial of the rival claims lasted seven years, and the result was that GROSVENOR was defeated. An appeal was made to the KING, and he, by way of gratifying the loser, gave him the arms the family now bore.

Mr. AYRTON having briefly expressed his acknowledgments,

A vote of thanks to the CHAIRMAN was carried, and the meeting terminated.

May 24. A meeting of this SOCIETY was held at the SOCIETY'S apartments, in the OLD EPISCOPAL PALACE, Abbey

Square. There was a considerable attendance of Members and their friends, and many ladies. The Chair was occupied by the Rev. CANON KINGSLEY.

Mr. T. HUGHES, F.S.A. (one of the SOCIETY'S Secretaries) read the Paper for the evening, on "CHESTER IN ITS EARLY YOUTH," for which see the *Journal*, Vol. III., pp. 247-266.

The CHAIRMAN said it was due to acknowledge the worth and interest which characterised the very able Paper that had just been read. He was sure the Meeting would agree with him that the Essayist had shown them, more than any other thing, how ignorant they were of the numerous—the multitude of—ROMAN REMAINS about CHESTER. He (the CHAIRMAN) had not the least notion that so much might be shown and seen, even in the limited section of Roman Antiquities which the LECTURER had taken that night; and they would agree with him that, while their thanks should be given for the section then treated, another and another should be handled by Mr. HUGHES, until he had taken up the whole cycle to its completion, as he was so well able to do. It was now for him to invite any one to start a discussion on any subject of interest which might have arisen during the reading of the Paper.

The CHAIRMAN, speaking of the Field previously mentioned as towards the WATER TOWER, and which now belongs to the INFIRMARY, asked if there had been any buildings in the Field? If not permanent houses, might there not have been tents or something of that kind at some early period?

Mr. HUGHES said there was no question that in Roman times the INFIRMARY FIELD site was reserved for Burials: and in mediæval times the west side of the City was occupied largely by religious edifices. But that was long subsequent to the period of which he had been speaking; when it was the genius of the ROMANS to crowd their buildings within a central square, and to leave as much space as possible vacant for the purpose of health inside THE WALLS, but including the usual wide road bounded by the Roman barrier itself. A considerable portion of the City still retained this right of road just within THE WALLS, and he should like to see that road or drive continued from time to time as far as practicable.

Mr. FFOULKES then read a Paper on "TORQUES," of which we regret we are unable to present more than an abstract. He said that LORD WESTMINSTER's "Torque" was found near CAERWYS, in Flintshire, while clearing the surface of a lime rock from soil. It was lying beneath the soil on the surface of the rock. It measures 3ft. 9in. to the hooks, which are each $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. in length. According to the earliest accounts furnished by classical writers, the *torque* appeared to have been used as an ornament for the neck from an early date, by the Asiatic and Northern nations. In a mosaic discovered at Pompeii in 1821, a Persian warrior is represented wearing a *torques*. The British Queen Boadicea was said by Dion Cassius to have worn a great golden *torques*. The word *torques* means twisted, and should not be applied to any other than a twisted ornament. Anciently *torques* were conferred upon Roman soldiers in commemoration of the honours they had obtained. This proved that the *torques* was a common ornament amongst the Gauls and other nations with whom the Romans waged war. More *torques* had been found in Ireland than in Great Britain. There were altogether 37 specimens in the museum of the Royal Irish Academy—probably the finest collection in Europe. The metal of which these ornaments were made was for the most part gold. Sometimes they were made out of a four-flanged straight bar of gold, each flange being about $\frac{1}{8}$ th of an inch in depth, and standing at right angles with each other. The bar twisted, and thus the *torques* acquired its spiral form. Mr. FFOULKES displayed a long strip of thin lead, four-flanged, and at once proceeded to twist it, in the presence of the meeting, into the form of the beautiful specimen from EATON exhibited by LORD WESTMINSTER.

At the conclusion, after a suitable acknowledgment had been made to Mr. FFOULKES from the Chair, a vote of thanks was heartily accorded to the Rev. CANON KINGSLEY, on the motion of Mr. FFOULKES, seconded by Mr. RAIKES, M.P.

The meeting was of the most interesting character throughout, the subject of Mr. HUGHES's Paper on "CHESTER" being illustrated by the whole of the fine Roman Collection belonging to the SOCIETY; enriched by the Roman Altars, the inscribed Pig of Lead, and the celebrated Gold *torques* from Eaton.

CANON KINGSLEY ON "PRIMÆVAL MAN."

July 31. The Rev. CANON KINGSLEY delivered a most interesting and instructive Lecture on "PRIMÆVAL MAN," at a crowded Meeting of the SOCIETY, this evening, at the King's School. The MAYOR, on the motion of The DEAN, was called to the Chair.

The LECTURER, in opening the subject, said he intended on that evening to confine himself strictly to the subject announced, namely, "PRIMÆVAL MAN." He did not intend to enter into the question of the origin of MAN, which physical science and physiologists must decide, or into the questions of Biblical science, which commentators must decide. That SOCIETY was simply a Society of Archaeologists, and he should therefore confine himself to an Archaeological subject.

In his humble opinion, PRIMÆVAL MAN was such a subject. They could only start from the known to form conclusions upon the less known, and they could perhaps conjecture something about the entirely unknown. It might be wrong of him to say what PRIMÆVAL MAN was like, till he met with a PRIMÆVAL MAN. He had no doubt if he did, as he had been brought up in the old fashioned creed to honour his father and mother, and to respect old age,—he should treat him with profound respect, and expect to find him a much better personage than he found himself to be. He might say at the outset that he did not share the opinions lately put forth by some scientific men,—some of them very dear friends of his own,—who asserted that MAN rose from a lower stage of being, and gradually became higher and higher in his developement. In that opinion he could not go with them.

He believed the Archaeologists generally of to-day would agree with him that the earth is much older than it was believed to be two generations ago. On that subject he advised them to study the 19th chapter of Sir Charles Lyell's "*History of Man*." They might be certain that, on that subject, whatever Sir Charles Lyell said would be a safe guide. They would find also in the work of the Duke of Argyle, on *Primæval Man*, statements expressed which showed a firm faith in Christianity. He would further recommend them to the study of a book written by

another true Christian, ST. GEORGE MIVART. After that terrible period of destruction, the Age of Ice—the glacial epoch,—after the ice retreated again to the northward, a race of men must have been driven northward in search of food ; which they would have found plentiful enough, but rather hard to get,—for the land must have been occupied by huge mammoths, or woolly elephants, rhinoceroses, gigantic oxen, musk oxen, gigantic Irish elks, huge reindeer, mixed up with huge beasts of prey, lions, bears, hyænas, and,—in Spain, leopards, and hippopotamuses. Nor need they be surprised at animals at present found chiefly in tropical climates abounding in the northern latitudes of primæval ages. The tropical beasts of prey had much greater power of sustaining cold than Man. At present the tiger ranged Siberia and as far north as the Amoor, and if the lion was now confined to Africa, Persia, and Northern India, it was only because he had been killed out elsewhere. Readers of old Homer would find a description of a fight between lions and dragons (by which he meant pythons) so vivid and accurate as to show that Homer must have seen, with his own eyes, a fight between a lion and a snake. The last authentic account of the lion in Europe was given by Herodotus, who described the camels and other beasts of burden of the army of Xerxes as being attacked by lions in the mountains of Thrace, now a portion of Northern Turkey.

The relative distribution of land and water must then, too, have been very different to what it was now. Ireland was joined to England, and England to France, till gradually sawn apart by the action of the sea. That accounted for the absence of toads and poisonous snakes from Ireland, those reptiles not having been quick enough in their northern progress to reach that country before the separation ; while frogs, which had arrived before the communication was cut, had got over. In England, too, there were not half the kinds of snakes and reptiles to be met with as there were in France and Belgium. They had reached the straits of Dover, but comparatively few got over into England before her division from the European continent. During this era, which must have been a very long one, the German Sea must probably have been a vast sheet of lowlands, abounding with all kinds of

wild fowl. Also we might be sure that Europe was then joined to Africa, as was proved by the fossil remains of African animals found in the limestone caves of Gibraltar. There was reason to believe that the Greek Archipelago had once formed a solid mass, shattered by some convulsion of nature.

Discoveries had recently, and from time to time been made in several parts of Europe, which left no reasonable doubt of the existence of MAN at those remote periods; because flint instruments and weapons had been found mixed with the bones of animals of species now entirely extinct. When they found, as they had found, upon some of those instruments just such a rude sketch of a Mammoth as a savage would draw, they could have no doubt that MAN and the Mammoth were contemporaries. In the Pyrenees, some years ago, a cave was found which contained seventeen human skeletons. This cave was further searched in 1860. It had, however, been spoiled for scientific research; but in another cavern more than a hundred flint instruments have been discovered, and with them quantities of reindeer horns. Outside of these caves were found traces of feasts, apparently held by the savages before closing them up as places of sepulture, in bones of various animals,—elephants, rhinoceroses, horses, and oxen, and amongst them a bone of a young rhinoceros split up evidently by some instrument, in just the same way as savages were in the habit of doing. Was not this instance enough to set the question of what some PRIMÆVAL MEN were, at rest? Similar facts were also found in the caverns of the Dordogne, in France, which were explored by Sir JOHN LUBBOCK.

In England, too, similar caverns had been found. In particular, there was Kent's Cavern, near Torquay. That was first explored by Mr. McHenry, a Roman Catholic priest, who gave a description of it. Then there was a cave near Brixham, also near Torquay. There, flint knives and other human instruments were found in plenty, together with the bones of the mammoth, rhinoceros, bear, lion, and reindeer. These deposits in the Brixham Cave must have been of enormous antiquity. Again, flint instruments have been found in primæval middens which had been brought to light at LLANDUDNO,—and mixed with them were bones of animals. It would ap-

pear, by the various traces of their existence found in these caves that the savages who inhabited them were something like, in their habits, what the Esquimaux are now.

But then came naturally before us the question,—were these Esquimaux-like savages PRIMÆVAL MEN? And, first of all, he would premise that he held firmly to the belief that all the Races of Men came originally from one stock. When, therefore, he spoke of Races of Men he used the term in the same sense that he would apply it to races of dogs or of pigeons. With regard to the all-important question whether the Esquimaux were identical with PRIMÆVAL MAN, it seemed to him that all that could be said of them was that they were the earliest human race which reappeared in Europe after the great catastrophe of the glacial epoch. But he denied that the Esquimaux were the original type of MAN. In the first place, MAN—hairless, feeble, and possessed of no natural weapons—must have begun his career in the tropics, somewhere where there were no large and dangerous beasts of prey, and no violent inclemencies of weather—in an earthly Paradise. The hunters then, in the barren moors of France, Belgium, and England, must have come north against their inclination, and were probably of an inferior race: as according to a general rule,—in the extreme north and south of Continents, or amid the most inclement Mountain Ranges,—the lower representatives of the race were to be found, driven from the possession of the richer and warmer districts by stronger and more civilised races.

It must be conceded that the more ancient the human race was assumed to be, the more time was allowed for whole peoples to have risen and become great, strong, civilised, and to have fallen again and become weak, base, and barbarous. Of this they had a proof, in the condition of modern as compared with ancient Greece, and in more modern times with Spain now, and as she was in the Middle Ages. Those who talked of a continual progress in MAN forgot that facts were against them. If he had to believe that the human race was of immense antiquity he should see more likelihood, more reasonableness, in those magnificent Arab legends of whole dynasties of pre-Adamite Sultans, and all the gorgeous fables of vaunted greatness and glory of which the East was full; than in the

theory that MAN had existed on as a savage, or semi-savage, for countless ages. And he absolutely declined to accept all theories which rested on the assumption that MAN began as that wretched semi-animal, the modern savage, such as were seen in the tropical parts of America, who spent their time lying in the sun, and brushing off the mosquitos and ants from their irritated skins. Humboldt, beholding such a group, exclaimed that it was difficult to believe the theory that MAN began as a savage, only he must have begun so. It required courage to differ from Humboldt, but he did differ from him!

Facts clearly showed that degradation in mankind was as easy and as common as progress. Human beings had only to be left to themselves to become savages. The struggle of all great and wise men was, therefore, to counteract the tendency in MAN to fall and not to rise. The natural tendency of MAN by the laws of his nature was not to become a Shakespere, still less a Moses; but to become a dirty, lying ruffian like an average savage, and like, alas! too many English men and women and children. And he felt that if MAN had begun in that low animal state, then he must hold with the Duke of Argyll and Mr. Wallace, Archbishop Whateley, and, as he could have said, that consummate metaphysician and philosopher, ST. PAUL, in spite of all said against the theory by friends of his (for whom he had all respect),—that MAN never would have risen out of that state without some special influence—call it supernatural if they would—which had made him what he could never have made himself, a moral and civilized, and even decently decent being.

He wished they would read what the Duke of Argyll had said about PRIMEVAL MAN. They would at least see why he coupled the words moral and civilized. It was because he attached a different meaning to civilization from that which most people—and, he was sorry to say, most philosophers—now-a-days attached to it. They thought too exclusively that civilization consisted in mere mechanical appliances. Railroads were now the great signs of civilization with some, just as billiard-rooms and the ballet were with others. But these were, at least, only the tools of civilization, and might become hereafter the tools of barbarism. The civilization of a people was as independent of its mechanical appliances, &c., as it was

of the cut of its clothes, or even of its wearing clothes at all. Civilization was not of the outer, but the inner MAN. The old Hebrew Patriarchs were—according to the record—more civilized than an average Parisian.

As for Railways, indeed, they no more made civilized Men than billiard-tables did. He wished everyone would take these words to heart, and consider seriously in what their civilization really consisted. The mistake to which he had referred had been made by certain old Jewish Rabbis; and in the 16th and 17th centuries certain thinkers held that all subsequent science was but a fragmentary reflex of a primæval science. For his part he held to MILTON's conception of the first MAN, as of a being utterly uncivilised, in the modern and cockney sense—but of a magnificent simplicity, stateliness, courtesy, knowing well what was due to himself! Whatever were the faults of "Paradise Lost," we owed to MILTON, at least such an ideal of PRIMÆVAL MAN as had never been before sketched by human pen; and one which would endure and teach when the theories of this generation had gone where theories of MILTON's generation had gone likewise.

He by no means would say that the TROPIC MAN might not have reached a high material as well as social civilization. There were traces that he had,—as in horticulture, for example. A large number of common edible vegetables of the tropics were no longer found wild, having spread all round the world at so remote a period that their original birthplace was unknown. There were, for example, the Banana and Plantain, the Maize, the Cassava, and Peach Palm, the origin of which could not be traced. There was Maize,—a plant which could not have had an origin amongst mere savages, and the original home of which was utterly unknown. Further, there was the Cassava, which contained a deadly poison, the art of separating which certainly carried them back to a lost civilisation. If there was an ancient primæval civilisation, there must have been ancient primæval cities. Where were they? What had become of them? They were probably built of timber or sun-dried brick, the most abundant materials, which, under the fierce suns, heavy rains, and luxuriant vegetation, would return in a few years to their original dust, and

be swallowed up in the returning forest. There were traces of an advanced primæval civilization in India and in America. In Central India they were in the shape of some remarkable wooden carvings; and also in America there were the remains of a past civilisation, which had left no traces except those huge mounds, which were the great puzzle to the antiquaries of the United States, especially in the neighbourhood of the Mississippi.

He would go further than all this. If the human race really was of such immense antiquity, then MAN might have lived in lands now sunk beneath the Ocean, as in the Pacific. They would agree with him that possibly the South Sea Islanders might be the mere remnants of a great race who, as the lands had sunk, had retreated to the mountain tops. Was it impossible, or even improbable, then, that great cities had risen and fallen upon what was now sunken land? It was notorious that, in the most remote eastern island, the astonishment of Captain Cook had been excited upon the discovery, in the crater of an extinct volcano, of huge statues carved out of lava. The natives spoke of them as the work of a superior race which had perished,—which was probable. For his (the CANON'S) part, he had long held that he saw everywhere,—in the weapons, the dwellings, the ornaments, the dresses in some instances,—of the South Sea Islanders, evidences of a decay in civilization, among a race which was undeniably decaying in physical power. And it seemed to him that such decay was in certain cases to be easily accounted for. To suppose, for example, the decay in an iron-producing country of the metal, and the want of facilities for obtaining it from elsewhere. If the supply of iron should cease, they would be compelled to go back for the instruments of the various arts, whether of peace or war, to those stone materials, which were formerly used by their primæval ancestors,—and that would be retrograding. But while they would lose many of the arts of civilisation, which PRIMÆVAL MAN might have possessed, the race, though decaying and retrograding like that of the South Sea Islands, would still retain a certain kind of civilization, which did not depend upon the use of iron,—such as weaving. They would retain and still practise some of the arts derived from the greater civilisation of their forefathers. Hence, too, were to be

found amongst savages many curious customs, sometimes fantastical, often cruel, often disgusting; of which they could give no account except that their forefathers practised them, and therefore they did. He held the same opinion of the religion of savages. The Fetish worship of the Negroes was but some primæval creed which had degenerated in the hands of a priesthood of quacks into juggling and poisoning.

In conclusion, he must now say, he knew *nothing* of PRIMEVAL MAN, nor could know anything, because there were no facts,—no experience on which to ground our knowledge: for we had no proof that modern savages were like PRIMEVAL MAN; and the more ancient the human race, the more unlikely was it that they were alike. He earnestly advised his hearers, therefore, to receive with caution those works which attempted to prove that MAN had risen to his present state of civilisation by his own efforts from the condition of a savage, or even of a brute. MAN had been rather the subject of some Divine assistance. He said boldly that he thought the mystery, looking at it merely from the scientific side, could only be truly explained in the way in which the Christian Religion explained it. The more he contemplated that extraordinary, abnormal, and one might say, miraculous creature, MAN,—so like the brutes in some respects, so unlike them in others,—the most rational theory about him seemed to be that, at his first start on this planet, some event, or events, happened to him quite out of the ordinary course of nature. And he said boldly again that certain events recorded in the First Chapter of Genesis seemed to him to be a fair and rational explanation of MAN, his power of rising and his power of falling,—his sins and his sorrows, his aspirations and his blisses; and he lived in the faith that in this, as in other things, the true interpretation of Scripture, and the true conclusions of Scientific Reason, would be found to coincide.

The CHAIRMAN, at the close of the Lecture, said the custom of that SOCIETY was to invite discussion at the close of any Lectures which might be delivered before it. Had, then, any gentleman present anything to say upon what CANON KINGSLEY had advanced?

No response having been elicited to this invitation from the Chair,

The DEAN, in moving a vote of thanks to CANON KINGSLEY, called upon his hearers unanimously to express their gratitude to him, as Citizens of CHESTER, for the good he had done to them during his three months' Residence. For his own part, he felt personally thankful to CANON KINGSLEY for the manner in which he had worked together with him for the good of the people of CHESTER. It seemed to him that there was in large towns like CHESTER a spirit of frivolity which required to be counteracted by such intellectual and moral recreations and pursuits as had been originated in CHESTER by CANON KINGSLEY; and in proposing that vote of thanks, he could not help feeling that it was as if a good PROVIDENCE had brought him amongst them. (Cheers.)

Mr. WILLIAM AYRTON cordially seconded the motion of The DEAN, which was carried with the utmost unanimity and enthusiasm.

CANON KINGSLEY, in replying, said he was sincerely obliged to The DEAN for his kind words. He had only been trying to do his duty in the way he conceived his duty should be done. He should not have been encouraged to do it, if he had not found that The DEAN held generally the same views as himself, and had confidence enough in him to let him do his work in his own way; thereby giving him that courage which only a sense of freedom could give, to do what little work he had done. He could only say that, having done what he could during his last term of Residence, he should endeavour to do a little more next time he came,—and a little more the next time after that—(hear, hear),—as the best return he could make for the uniform courtesy, kindness, and hospitality he had always received from the people of that City. (Applause.) He concluded by proposing a vote of thanks to the MAYOR for his kindness in taking the Chair.

The vote of thanks having been seconded, carried, and briefly replied to, the proceedings of this interesting evening were brought to a termination.*

* The original MS. of the foregoing Lecture having been lost, this Abstract of it appears to a disadvantage from a mere newspaper report.

1872.

January 3. An ordinary Meeting was held at the SOCIETY'S Rooms in the OLD PALACE, on Friday evening last, Mr. MEADOWS FROST, J.P., in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN having, in a few appropriate words, introduced the Lecturer of the evening,—

Mr. A RIMMER read a Paper, of which we here append an abstract, on the "Decline of Gothic Architecture after the 14th century."

He began with a brief sketch of the rise and progress of GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE from the end of the 11th to the opening of the 15th century,—making it brief, as he said, because the subject was familiar to every one in the present day. He chiefly wished to point out that there was no abrupt change between the styles that are commonly called Early English and Decorated. Much error even often arose from supposing that the change of style was simultaneous—MERTON COLLEGE CHAPEL, OXFORD, for instance (often considered a gem of the Decorated period), was, as a matter of history, built after MANCHESTER CATHEDRAL, a Perpendicular building. He dwelt at considerable length on the wonderful way the old English architects suited their beautiful structures to their sites, and always made them features in the landscape; and he said "the *England*, even of Shakespeare's time, was a scene of picturesque beauty that now, if it could be described, would only be looked upon as the dream of an Antiquary. Plenty is left to show what its glories once were," and quotations were given from Shakespeare to show how he regretted the loss of native art that was beginning at his period.

Speaking of Gothic Architecture, he said that the old designers of England fitted their buildings to the spots they stood on so precisely that, after the solid spires of LICHFIELD, that of SALISBURY at first struck him as being lanky and too thin: and it was only when seen from various approaches on Salisbury Plain, covering over 200 miles, that he fully understood the picturesqueness of the sharp, incisive idea of height it was meant to convey. In order to design a building now, it would be necessary to make many drawings of the surroundings by turnpike roads and all the neighbourhood, to see where a stack of chimneys should show, where

a front or bay window, and where it should be partly hidden by a clump of elms or a hillock. This was not necessary formerly, for the old builders designed as they went on, and had all the accessories in their eye.

A singular picture of the license allowed to them may be found in the agreement for building the TROUTBECK CHAPEL at ST. MARY'S, CHESTER, between WILLIAM TROUTBECK, ESQ., and THOMAS BATES, mason. He describes the length and breadth, and says there must be "V. faire and cleu'ly wrought windows full of light," the best to be devised, &c., &c. But the most touching part of the contract, and one that no mason could read at the present day without emotion, is where he speaks of the height of the chapel, which is to be carried up "as high as it needs reasonably to be." This shows how little the workmen of those days cared about jerrying their work. Unhappily, none of this Chapel is left, and a series of splendid monuments perished with it; among these was one to Sir WILLIAM and LADY TROUTBECK, of great beauty: the lady's head rested on a head-dress that might excite no remark in the present day, but must have been impressive in the 16th century. It consisted of a wreath of Trout on a Moor's head. The real cause of the decadence of English Art is explained in an eloquent passage of Mr. GLADSTONE'S, where he says that the lust for cheapness and the contempt for ornament took away the occupation of the true artists of England, and they ceased; this culminated in the time of CROMWELL, where every article of beauty was thought to be idolatrous and carnal:—but baldness does not satisfy, and Mr. GLADSTONE says, "the law of nature arrives at its revenge:" "we have starved out the race that knew the laws and modes for the production of artistic beauty," and end by producing "malformations at a greater cost than would have sufficed for the nourishment among us of chaste and virgin art."

The LECTURER concluded by saying that the revenge was deep and deadly, and the nation is defaced with costly palaces of the reigns of Queen Anne and the Georges (Roman but not classical, and symbolical without meaning): Fauns, infant Bacchuses, and Satyrs leer away in the grounds, and an enormous mansion with vast façades, and rows of Iron columns, startle the visitor out of propriety.

The bitter description of the Marquis of Carabbas's house in Thackeray is a brilliant picture of this incongruous taste. Alluding to the way in which gems of English art had been swept away in the "restoration" of Churches in the 18th century; he said it was a crumb of comfort that the churchwardens who had been guilty of such sacrilege had universally left their names painted on a board behind them, with the year in which their tasteless work had been done!

The stall work of CHESTER CHOIR was of marvellous beauty in design; and it combined lightness, and elegance with grandeur, that astonished him as often as he saw it. Finally, there was, in old work, a patient working out of design, whether the building was completed almost in a single generation like SALISBURY, or in ages, like Cologne. Of the materials used in the handiwork little was known, and of grand principles nothing.

The CHAIRMAN having, in accordance with the SOCIETY'S rules, invited discussion and remarks,

Mr. T. HUGHES entirely concurred with the LECTURER in his lamentation over the fall of Gothic Architecture after the accession of the 7th HENRY. It was humiliating to think over the continuous work of destruction that had been going on in this direction during the last four centuries; and the more so as it might be traced more to the ignorance and arrogance of the Churchwardens of past times, than to the attacks of enemies from outside the Church itself. Any one who would look around, even at the Churches of CHESTER and its neighbourhood, would see at once the justice of his remarks. Nothing could be worse, architecturally or pictorially, than the alterations effected in these local temples from the days of Henry VIII. to almost the middle of the present century; when a better and a truer spirit had grown up in this respect, as many surrounding works of our own day amply testified. Mr. HUGHES referred at some length to the two rebuildings of the TROUTBECK Aisle at St. MARY'S, to which the Lecturer had called attention; and gave some historic facts in relation to the carved tabernacle-work at CHESTER CATHEDRAL, referred to in terms of fitting praise by Mr. RIMMER.

The CHAIRMAN then gave an interesting account of his recent visit to America, his remarks being mainly connected with the

great Mormon Tabernacle at Salt Lake City. This was a building capable of containing 14,000 people, and of seating at least 8,000 ; and yet, vast as were its proportions, every word of the preacher could be distinctly heard at the very extremity of the building. He (the Chairman), seeing that that was an Architectural Meeting of the SOCIETY, would venture to suggest to his professional friends that the science of Acoustics was not sufficiently studied by architects of the present day ; for there was scarcely a Church, Chapel, or Public Hall, where the voice of a speaker could be at all distinctly heard halfway across the building. Mr. FROST, at the conclusion of his address, handed round a profusion of photographs of public buildings in America, picked up during his recent sojourn in that country.

Mr. HUGHES then drew attention to the really charming series of Drawings and Photographs of Churches, Schools, and public buildings, either recently erected or in immediate contemplation in the locality, which the various Architects of the city had enabled him to exhibit on the walls of the Lecture Room. There were large drawings of the restored CHESTER CATHEDRAL, including the new CLOISTER and the vaulting of the Nave. These were contributed by Mr. FRATER, the obliging Clerk of the Works there.

MESSRS. KELLY AND EDWARDS sent drawings of the new BLUE GIRLS' SCHOOL in Vicars' Lane, a half timber work of high merit ; also the accepted design of the new COACH AND HORSES INN, NORTHGATE STREET, which was much and deservedly admired ; likewise drawings of the CHESTER DRILL HALL, Mr. McHattie's new Premises in St. Werburgh Street, and WEST-KIRBY CHURCH.

Mr. JOHN DOUGLAS sent quite a display of Drawings and Photographs of recent works executed by him in and about the city and county. Amongst them should be named three choice and elaborate drawings, representing the new Churches at TATTENHALL and DODLESTON, and the interior of ST. MARY'S, WARRINGTON. Among the photographs, which occupied the whole of one angle of the room, were views of the various Lodges recently erected by Mr. DOUGLAS for the MARQUIS OF WESTMINSTER, at EATON and PULFORD ; the elegant mansion of OAKMERE on Delamere Forest ;

the restored VALE ROYAL ABBEY, the seat of LORD DELAMERE ; as also drawings of a series of compact farm buildings on the estate of Mr. DEWHURST, of Lymm, in the half-timber style at one time common to CHESHIRE farmhouses. The drawing, however, which perhaps elicited the greatest interest, was Mr. DOUGLAS's design for a Terrace of Houses on the east side of the new GROSVENOR PARK ROAD,—a group of dwellings in timber and ornamental brick, which will form an elegant and appropriate introduction to the Park and the old City—the Stranger-Visitor's first peep at the picturesque after leaving the Railway Station.

Mr. T. M. LOCKWOOD contributed some admirably-executed drawings of his recent works, and especially of the New Town Hall, WHITCHURCH, a competition drawing which was selected by the committee out of a large number of others from various parts. Another drawing represented the tasteful mansion now in course of erection and nearly completed at CONNAH's QUAY, commissioned by the late James Davison, Esq., a member of the SOCIETY, who unfortunately did not live to see the completion of Mr. LOCKWOOD's labours.

The TOWN CLERK obligingly sent for exhibition a large bound volume, preserved in the Corporation Muniment Room at the TOWN HALL. This Volume contained the set of elevations and working drawings of the NEW TOWN HALL, and which were obtained from the architects, Messrs. Lynn and Co., on the building itself being officially handed over to the City two years ago.

A vote of thanks to the LECTURER and CHAIRMAN closed the proceedings.

March 6. An ordinary meeting of the members of the SOCIETY was held at the OLD EPISCOPAL PALACE, Abbey Square, on Monday evening last, for the purpose of hearing two Papers read, one from Mr. T. RIGBY, of Darnhall, and the other from Mr. T. HUGHES, F.S.A. There was a considerable attendance of Members. The Chair was occupied by the Rev. C. BOWEN.

The first Paper read was that by Mr. THOMAS RIGBY, entitled "Gleanings from the History of the Ancient Borough of OVER, with Notices of ROBERT NIXON, the CHESHIRE PROPHET."

Mr. RIGBY commenced his Lecture by saying—

Our beloved country is very rich in written histories of brave and daring deeds, and it is richer than most lands in enduring monuments of skill and of substantial protection and defence ; but there is a mine of deeply interesting history almost wholly untouched and unwritten. It is true that every village has not borne and nurtured a hero, nor has every hamlet been the scene of a great battle; but almost every town of any note or age has responded to the call to arms, and many a name that was known in its time as an embodiment of patriotic counsel or remarkable prowess has been utterly forgotten. Almost every village has its old Church, around which old gravestones tell of those who lived and laboured at their country's work hundreds of years ago. Almost every line of Railroad runs by some ivy-clad ruin that once housed a garrison of stalwart men, who rested secure in its defences. Old traditions are constantly cropping up which excite our wonder. Old Halls, amid older trees ; old Manor Houses, old Thatched Cottages, with small quaint window panes, are all mutely eloquent of the past. The spinning wheels of our granddames, their polished pewter plate and dishes, their lace cushions, their spindle-legged tables, wainscotted walls, cosy chimney nooks, and old arm chairs. Has not each of these its history ? And could not many of them "such a tale unfold" as, if they could but speak, would fill our minds with interest and with reverence ?

"History," says a modern writer, "in some of its essential features dies, even as generations of men die. If we could call up some of the actors in the world's drama of the old times that are past, and were allowed to propound the proper questions,—how many doubts would be cleared up!—how many perplexing matters would be unravelled ! And what a number of interesting anecdotes would be revealed to the eye of posterity ! But history comes like a beggarly gleaner on the field,—after Death, the great lord of the domain, has gathered the crop with his mighty hand, and lodged it in that garner that no man can open."

The Place of which I am to speak to-night has a history ; but it is one that has to be read from the remembrances of its aged inhabitants, and by comparative inferences with contemporary times, rather than in musty and detailed records; indeed I am sorry to say

that my store of rare and original matter is very limited. I am but a gleaner, and only aspire to gather a few stray straws which the aforesaid reaper has left on the field,—and to arrange them with such ability as I may possess, in the least wearisome manner.

The Borough of OVER embraces the townships of OVER and MARTON and the Hamlet of SWANLOW. It is situate nearly in the centre of Cheshire, on the banks of the River WEAVER; and comprises a part of the land under which the Salt Springs are found which supply a large part of the world with SALT. Its speciality consists in having a MAYOR, but no Council or Corporation; and the appointment of this officer is made annually by LORD DELAMERE, the Lord of the Manor, and not by the voice or votes of a corporate body. The MAYOR has a magisterial jurisdiction within the Borough during his year of office, and all the licences for the sale of beer and spirits therein must have his signature. It is reputed a Borough by prescription, or by immemorial custom; and in this respect it also differs from most other Boroughs both of recent and older date; but I think it must have had some kind of licence or Charter for the possession of this prerogative, although there is no knowledge there now of the existence of such an instrument.

The word Burgh, from which we have Borough, is of German extraction, and originally signified a collection of residences, or of rows of houses, near to each other. It was used sometimes to indicate a place for the receipt of toll or custom, and sometimes a fort or tower; and Brady in his *History of Boroughs*, written in 1690, says, “Whether Burgh be taken to mean a place of trade or a place of strength, it was always guarded by the protection of and endowed with the liberties and privileges granted by Princes and Barons, then altogether necessary to the advantageous buying, selling, and trading.” From *Domesday Book* we learn that the traders in all towns were under the protection of the King or of some neighbouring Baron, and sometimes of both: that this protection was essential to their welfare, and that they paid a stipulated custom for the privilege. Of the city of Bath for instance, it is said “The King holds Bath. At the time

of King Edward it was taxed at the rate of twenty hides; now, the King hath 64 burgesses paying him four pounds by the year, and there are 90 under the protection of other men who pay sixty shillings yearly." Of Norwich, it is said "There are 36 French burgesses in the New Burgh and 6 English; and every one paid an annual custom of 5d., besides their mulets or forfeitures. The King had two parts of the whole, and the Earl the third part. In the Old Burgh the King and Earl have the jurisdiction of 1,238 burgesses. Stigand had the money for the protection of 50 and Harold of 22, whereof one was so much his vassal that he could not depart, or do homage to any other, without his licence.

These short extracts throw some light upon the relation of tradesmen to their patrons, both before and immediately after the Conquest, and the charter confirmed by the first Norman King to the City of LONDON, will give an idea of the privileges such instruments conferred. "I, William, the King, greet William, the Bishop, and Godfrey, the Port Reeve, and the burgesses within London, both French and friendly English; and I declare to you that I will that ye all be law-worthy, as ye were in King Edward's days. And I will that each child be his father's heir at his decease. And I will not that any man command any wrong to be done you. God you hold or keep." In the reign of Henry II. a bondman became free by residence in a burgh a year and a day, and additional privileges were granted to the burgesses in his reign and that of his successor; and in the year 1295 the largest boroughs were summoned to send Members to Parliament. That they did not value this right, as much as some boroughs in the present day would, is clear. "They never complained," says Brady, "of the sheriffs for not sending them precepts, nor did they clamour against it as hard usage or injustice; on the contrary, it was reputed a burden and a grievance for poor and small boroughs to send Members to Parliament; and several petitions were sent to the King praying that they might be discharged of the obligation, because it was a great trouble and charge, and to their manifest damage and depression."

It is not likely that the Borough of OVER ever sent a Member

to Parliament. An aged man, who had lived all his life therein, assured me, twenty years ago, however, that it did do so at one time; and he asserted his belief that it was once a populous part of the county, and extended from the site of the ancient Saxon City of EDISBURY, on DELAMERE FOREST, to the end of the Hamlet of SWANLOW; and he certainly named some things in corroboration that gave his faith a tinge of probability. But I am inclined to think its distance from the metropolis, and the difficulty of travel thither, and the objects for which Parliaments were chiefly summoned then,—which was to assent to and to grant taxes for the Royal Treasury,—would cause the old burgesses to hesitate and to say “it was great trouble and charge, and to their manifest depression.”

It is probable that OVER became a burgh at an early date, in the manner described in *Domesday Book*. A number of people had built houses near to each other, say, and begun to live in a rudely civilized manner: they had been the vassals—perhaps the bondmen—of some neighbouring baron, and had obtained some measure of release upon condition of rendering him certain services; or paying certain fees or custom for the right of living on his territory, and for the protection in some legal or forceful manner in their industrial or trading pursuits. In those days —

“ Might gave right,”—and
 “ The good old law, the simple plan,
 That they should take who have the power,
 And they should keep who can,”

was the universal motto; and protection, in its most expressive sense, was essential to peaceful-minded traders, both for person and property. It may be that OVER had the protection of the ancient NORMAN EARLS of CHESTER “as a place of trade, or a place of strength.” HUGH LUPUS, the first EARL, had a seat or residence at DARNHALL, a township adjoining OVER, and JOHN, surnamed *Scot*, the seventh EARL, died there from the effects of poison, administered, it was suspected, with his wife’s knowledge and contrivance, in the year 1237. It was the practice of these local monarchs to confirm the charters given to such settlements in the previous Saxon times, and to confer similar favours on rising burghs to secure their

allegiance to themselves more completely ; and it is on record that "OVER was numbered among the immediate possessions of the EARL till the 54th of HENRY III., when it was granted by Prince EDWARD to the Abbey of VALE ROYAL."

It is probable, also, that the appointment of Mayor of OVER originated with the Abbot of VALE ROYAL, from inability to attend to all the Magisterial duties of his position himself. "This potent Churchman lived in all the splendour of a powerful Baron, having judicial and almost kingly power over the Manors with which the Abbey was endowed." He had an extensive right of "Advowry" or protection of criminals fleeing from justice in other Manors (OVER Church being the sanctuary for such criminals, it is supposed); and he was even invested by the King with the power of capital punishment! One of several plots of land in the Town-fields is still called the "Gallows Loont," and it is believed was the place of execution. The following description by Mr. ORMEROD confirms my supposition:—"Surrounded by his seneschal and under seneschal, the prior, the bailiffs, and many of the neighbouring gentry, the Abbot held his Court at VALE ROYAL, and there received the oath of fidelity to the Church from all large landowners, their recitation of the obligations they were under to the Crown, and the acknowledgment of suit and service of the tenants and dependents of the Abbey. He also appointed a deputy called a Coroner to hold a similar court for him in his Manors of OVER and WEAVERHAM, and for the administration of justice," and to this officer thus appointed may be traced, I think, the appointment of a MAYOR OF OVER, which appointment still remains, as the prerogative of the owner of VALE ROYAL; and I am further confirmed in this view by the remark of *Webb*, in his Cheshire Itinerary, who says, "OVER was made a Mayor town by means of the Abbot and Convent of VALE ROYAL."

It is worthy of note that "All persons who owe suit and service to the Right Hon. Hugh Cholmondeley, LORD DELAMERE," (and all householders in the borough of OVER do this), are still cited to appear on the Court-day in November every year, to answer to their names when called out by the Recorder of the Court, and all who fail to do this are mulcted in a fine of twopence each: and so



OVER CHURCH, CHESHIRE.

much is the custom respected, that the sum received from this source averages nearly five pounds annually. All travellers passing the courthouse on horseback, or in a vehicle, on this day are liable to the same toll.

Whether OVER having a MAYOR may be considered a privilege to the Borough is probably debatable matter. It is at least an honourable and an ancient office, and it is interesting to note that the "MAYOR of OVER" still retains the power of the ABBOT, from whom the office first emanated. He had the power of *Infangthef* and *Utfangthef*, two expressive though now obsolete words, the former signifying the right of trying and judging a thief taken within his jurisdiction; the latter, right and liberty to pursue a thief beyond the Borough, and bring him back to be tried—and the machinery of the law is still at the disposal of the Mayor to do this. The Abbot had also the privilege of *Tol* and *Stallagium*, the former the right to make a charge on all animals sold in the Fairs of the Borough, of which there are two annually, both always largely attended; and the latter a similar charge on the stalls of itinerant vendors,—and these privileges still remain and are enforced in connection with the office of Mayor.

It has been asserted, and it is believed by some ancient and worthy inhabitants of the Borough, that the office of "MAYOR of OVER" is more ancient one than that of the MAYOR of CHESTER, and that the former would be entitled to precedence in any State ceremonial, in which the Mayors of Boroughs in the county might be called upon to take part. But if the Borough of OVER received its first appointment of Mayor at the hands of the Abbot of VALE ROYAL, as I have assumed, this must be a mistake: as the first MAYOR of CHESTER (Walter Lynnet) was created in 1242 according to *Ormerod*, at least fifty years before the ABBEY rejoiced in its powerful influence. The Mayor of OVER is, however, entitled to a seat on the Bench at the County Quarter Sessions at KNUTSFORD, which may perhaps be esteemed a greater honour than that of which the MAYOR of CHESTER can boast.

The Mayors of OVER are mostly selected from the tenants of the VALE ROYAL estate, but not exclusively; as several gentlemen resident in the borough, not LORD DELAMERE's tenants, have

held the office. They have always been men of good position and character,—not much learned in the law perhaps, but quite capable, with the aid of their legal adviser, of giving a fair and correct decision on cases tried before them ; and, to their historic honour be it said, they have never used their power arbitrarily, but for the most part have wisely tempered Justice with Mercy. Some of those who held the office at an early period were evidently unable to write,—as “the MAYOR of OVER his mark,” is found on some old legal documents relating to the vicinity of the Borough. Education was not so accessible then as now, and there have been Kings who could do no more, and warriors of renown whose only signature was the pommel of their sword handles !

There are one or two customs that date back as far as the memory of the oldest inhabitant will serve, but which are beginning to be forgotten, and that deserve a passing notice. The “Walking of the Fair” was one of these, and it was thus observed. The MAYOR, arrayed in regalia dress, was met at the Market Cross by some of the previous Mayors of the Borough and by a few of his personal friends, and, preceded by the Town Bailiff carrying the silver MACE I have the honour of exhibiting here to-night, and by a band of music and an escort of javelin men, proceeded with all gravity to walk from end to end of the old street in which the Fair was being held, and then to dinner at the principal inn.

Another was the “Chairing of the MAYOR” upon his being sworn in on the annual Court-day. I was present at one of these scenes some years ago and shall not soon forget the sight. The room in which the ceremony took place was barely seven feet high. Two strong rough hewn crooked oak beams ran longitudinally under the floor above, and upon these lay roughly split joists to carry the boards: no ceiling under these, but the boards and the walls covered with a thick coat of lime wash. The retiring Mayor and about twenty-five gentlemen (all that the room would seat) had just dined, and the Juries who had been summoned to elect Officers for the Town, and who had also been feasting, came into the room, and returned the names of those whom they had elected to the offices of Burleymen, Constables, and Ale-tasters. And then, after these had been sworn by the Recorder, the MAYOR elect was also sworn

'to serve our Lady the Queen as MAYOR of this Borough for the space of one year; to administer equal justice to the poor as to the rich; to uphold the commonwealth of the town and its customs, rights, and liberties; and to behave himself in all things pertaining to the Office as shall be for the benefit of the Borough." Whereupon he was seated in his Chair, and some half-dozen men, most of whom were in high spirits, seized it, and with a good will and loud cheers tried to show their pleasure at his election by lifting him so high as to bump his head against the floor above! His Worship had, however, provided himself with a stout staff which he held in upright position so as to prevent the concussion thus threatened: and had also arranged, I afterwards learned, with two trusty friends to counteract their homicidal intentions by holding down the Chair; but it was with no little relief he seemed to regain his feet, and found himself safely through the trying ordeal. This custom has been given up for about six years, and we shall all think it more honoured in the breach than in the observance.

It was also the custom for the MAYOR to distribute lengths of ribbon to the innkeepers and waiters at the inns; and to his personal friends to wear as favours in the breast on the two Fair days named, and his outlay for this purpose frequently exceeded £20. His example was also followed by some of the rustic frequenters of the Fair. One old lady who had a stall used to say that her principal sales consisted of streamers of ribbon, sold to the farm servant-men and lads to give to their sweet-hearts as "fairings."

There is some evidence, as I have suggested, that OVER CHURCH was once a Sanctuary for criminals fleeing from the pursuit of summary justice. The Abbot of VALE ROYAL had, as has been said, the right of protecting such fugitives: and it was the practice of these potentates to allot a portion of their territory as an asylum for this purpose, placing it under such rules and regulations as the following:—

"When a fugitive entered the limits of this ground or Sanctuary he should be instantly protected from the summary vengeance of his pursuers, and could only be proceeded against by course of law.

"If he preferred to remain in the territory of his protector rather than submit to a legal trial in the place from which he fled, he was required to take an oath of allegiance to him, and become one of his vassals or retainers. But he was not allowed to build himself a substantial house to live in. He must be content with a tent or booth fastened together with cords and pins only; and it may be that the Abbot limited his Sanctuary to the Church, as is done, I believe, in many places on the Continent still.

And Smith, writing of the village of OVER 230 years ago, says,—“It is but a small thing, yet I put it here because of the great prerogative that it hath; for it hath a Mayor,—and the Church, which is a quarter of a mile south of the town, is lawless,—which privilege I think it hath since the destruction of the city of EDISBURY.”

The CHURCH itself is situated *not* a quarter of a mile from the village, but nearly a mile. It is difficult to say with certainty why it stands so far distant. Various reasons are given. One based upon the assumption already named, that the population of the district was once much greater than it is now, and that it was then settled around and near to the old Church; but it is difficult to conceive this, as there are no remnants of buildings standing, nor any traces of them met with in the cultivation of the land around. The late ARCHDEACON WOOD once told me that he thought the Church had been built on its present site to accommodate the owner or resident at Darnhall Hall, as it is about the same distance from that place as from the village of OVER. Common tradition assigns its choice of situation to his Satanic Majesty's interference. “It did once stand in the village,” says this oracle, “and was well attended by the people. This annoyed Satan very much, and he conceived the bold idea of stealing the Church and flying away with it bodily; but he was caught in the act, and, like a detected thief who drops his spoil when pursued to facilitate his escape from capture, so Satan dropped the Church in the valley where it now stands, fled away himself, and has not since molested it.” The legend is ingeniously told in *Cheshire Ballads*, lately published by MAJOR EGERTON LEIGH.

The precise date of building the Church is unknown. It

was *rebuilt* in the year 1543, and it is believed that it stands upon the foundations on which a Church stood in the Norman period. The tower or steeple is massive, well built, and in perfect proportion. In the inner wall of the porch is an old carved font or, some say, holy water basin, but with one side broken out; and, in the chancel end, the tomb of HUGH STARKEY, of Darley Hall, who rebuilt the Church, but who seems to have been otherwise not of unblemished character. Dying without lawful issue in 1555, his brother JAMES, who succeeded him, and survived him but two years, left two sons, one of whom was HUGH STARKEY, "The Traveller." A memorial window in honour of the late REV. JOHN JACKSON, vicar of the parish for 42 years, and a local poet, has lately been placed there by some of his loving pupils; and another is about to be added to the memory of his widow, lately deceased, by their surviving children. The interior of the Church was re-seated and several improvements were made some years ago, at a cost of £2,000, and it is now as neat and comfortable a place of worship as any of the old Churches in the county.

The parish of OVER was divided into two parishes in 1863, upon the erection of a new Church by the Right Hon. LORD DELAMERE at the other end of the village,—the Old Parish Church retaining the name of its patron, ST. CHAD, once Bishop of Lichfield; the new one being named ST. JOHN'S. The REV. NATHAN JACKSON succeeded his father in the Old Church in 1863, and the Rev. Edward Woodyatt is vicar at the New Church, and has been so since its opening. One of the churches, built by the "River Weaver Trust," stands at WINSFORD within the Borough, of which the Rev. JOHN BIRKETT has been incumbent for upwards of 25 years. About the centre of the village stands a place of worship built by the Congregationalists 60 years since, but now used as a Sunday School, and near it another erected by them four years ago; and of the Church assembling here the Rev. JOHN MARSHALL has been pastor for nearly 52 years. In DARNHALL, on the edge of the Borough, stands the DARNHALL Endowed Schools, of which Mr. and Mrs. Richard Woodward have been teachers for nearly 50 years; and another gentleman (Mr. SLATER, of Woodford Hall), has served the ratepayers for nearly 35 years as Guardian, and

lately as waywarden, and has thrice been MAYOR. Facts like these, I think, are alike creditable to the men and to the people. The population of the Borough at the Census taken in 1871 was 5,681; and in 1881, 6,534.

An old stone CROSS used to stand in the centre of the village, where a modern erection of this character now stands; and there were formerly at least six other old CROSSES within the Borough.

As Mr. HUGHES is to follow me with a Paper on "MACES," I will only say of the OVER Mayor's before you, that Mr. LOWE, the assay master, tells me it is silver of standard quality, but that the assay mark has nearly been rubbed out by repeated polishing. This prevents its age being accurately determined, but it is probably of the time of Charles II., or James II. When in the HOUSE OF COMMONS last month, I noticed that the Gold MACE on the SPEAKER's table was of exactly the same pattern.

There is but little written record of public doings, or of the scenes of gaiety or gravity, that have been enacted in the ancient Borough. In a rare pamphlet, entitled *Cheshires Success*, printed in 1642, and written evidently for a purpose by a Parliament man, we read:—"SIR THOMAS ASTON and his party in CHESTER, recovering strength after their late overthrow, exercised the same in mischief and all wicked outrages: on Sabbath, March 12, having a little before advanced to MIDDLEWICH, they plundered all that day as a most proper season for it, and commanded the carts, in all the country about, to carry away the goods to TARPORLEY, and kept a fair there to sell them. In OVER, when they had plundered, they left ratbane in the houses, wrapt in paper for the children, which by God's Providence was taken from them before they could eat it, after their parents durst return to them."

THE PROPHET NIXON.

I now come to speak of a remarkable man (if there ever was such a man), "ROBERT NIXON, the Cheshire Prophet." "His father's name was John or Jonathan Nixon, a husbandman, who held a farm under lease from the Abbey of VALE ROYAL, to this day known by the name of Bark or—Bridge House, in

the parish of OVER. He was born at Whitsuntide, and was christened by the name of Robert, in the year 1467," says one history of his life: but with somewhat suspicious exactness, seeing that another account gives his life to the world in the Seventeenth Century, and that there are no Registers of his name in the WHITEGATE or OVER Church Books of either period.

Here is a "Life of Nixon, the Cheshire Prophet." It bears all the marks of age upon it that paper and type can give. It testifies to his first becoming notorious as a ploughboy to Farmer Crowton, of Swanlow; and describes him both by portrait and letterpress as "a short squab fellow with great head and goggle eyes, who used to drivel as he spoke, and particularly had a spite against children; that he would run at them to beat them if they made sport at him; that he was stubborn, rarely said more than 'yes' or 'no,' and had to be beaten well before he could be made to do anything useful." Not a very prepossessing likeness,! and yet his sayings or supposed sayings are engraved into the traditions of the centre of the county as deeply as any parts of its more certain wisdom.

He is described as little better than an idiot in mental capacity; and to have been of a taciturn and morose disposition, and his prophetic utterances are said to have been made only when he was entranced. "One day he came from his ploughing in the field, and laying down the things he had in his hand he remained a little while in his dumps" says one edition, "in a seemingly deep and thoughtful meditation" says another, and then with a hoarse voice said "Now I will prophesy!" and proceeded,—

"When a raven shall build in a stone lion's mouth on the top of a church in Cheshire, then a king of England shall be driven out of his kingdom and never return," &c., &c. The industrious collector of his supposed sayings, Mr. Oldmixon, is painfully anxious to prove their truth by pointing out their fulfilment, and this fact shakes one's faith in their genuineness most completely. Take the following as a specimen.

On the Christmas before he went to Court, being among the servants at Mr. CHOLMONDELEY's house, to the surprise of them all, he suddenly started up, and said,

"I must prophesy!" He went on, "If the favourite* of a King shall be slain, the master's neck shall be cleft in twain. And the men of the North† shall sell precious blood; yea, their own blood. And they shall sacrifice a noble warrior* to the idol.

"The departure of a great man's‡ soul shall trouble a river hard by, and overthrow trees, houses, and estates. From that part of the house, from whence the mischief came, you must look for the cure. First comes joy, then sorrow; after mirth comes mourning.

"I see men, women, and children, spotted§ like beasts, and their nearest and dearest friends affrighted at them. I see towns on fire, and innocent blood shed: but when men and horses walk upon water, then shall come peace and plenty to the people, but trouble is preparing for Kings: and the *great yellow fruit*‡ shall come over to this country."

It is said that he predicted he should be sent for to the Court in London, and be starved to death in the King's household: indeed a very graphic and circumstantial account of the fulfilment of this prophecy is also given, and tradition still points out the very closet in Hampton Court in which he came to his unfortunate end.

The three following occur in some of his prophecies, and are more definite than most—

"Darnhall Park shall be hacked and hewn,"

"Ridley Pool shall be sown and mown,"

"Through Weaver Hall shall be a lone;"

all of which have received fulfilment; but any clever, far-seeing man might have said these things, because highly probable. Timber was likely to come into request for naval purposes. The position of RIDLEY Pool it could have been seen rendered it easy of drainage: and the draining of the salt water from under WEAVER HALL, by the salt works at WINSFORD, might have suggested the sinking which has taken place; and which has raised parts of it, and made divisions quite through that which is standing, and so reduced the level of the land near,—on the river banks, as to have formed a lake of water of upwards

* The Duke of Buckingham (favourite of James, and Charles I., who was beheaded) assassinated by J. Felton.

† The Scots, who sold their King, Charles I., for a large sum of money, to the English rebels.

* Suppose the Marquis of Montrose.

† Suppose Oliver Cromwell, at whose death the greatest storm of wind happened that had been known in England.

§ The Plague and Fire of London are here plainly referred to.

‡ The Great Yellow Fruit, suppose the Prince of Orange, King William III.

of 100 acres. Of course this is reasoning like the man who said he could have discovered America, after Columbus had effected his wonderful work! but most of these prophecies were fulfilled before they were uttered, and the whole history is overlaid with so much mystification that he (Mr. RIGBY) took leave to doubt its authenticity, and but perhaps for the following circumstance, the existence of the man himself:—

The late Dean CHOLMONDELEY spent some days in searching for any traces of NIXON having lived at Hampton Court,—and more especially for a “portrait,” as he thought the prints given in the pamphlets were copies of some original; but without success. Some years after his death the late LORD DELAMERE, the Dean’s brother, saw a picture in a dealer’s shop in London which he instantly recognized as a portrait of Nixon, and which he found upon enquiry had been purchased by the dealer with a lot of other things from Hampton Court. One of the Royal Dukes had then lately been refurnishing apartments, and had swept out this picture among others at a nominal sum, and it thus came into his (the dealer’s) possession. LORD DELAMERE at once purchased the portrait, and it is now preserved at VALE ROYAL. There may have been a sharp-witted man (not a fool) who, possessing an imaginative mind, exercised it in fancying probabilities, and, as occasion served, writing them out and perhaps publishing them.

A vote of thanks was unanimously passed to the Lecturer for his able and interesting Paper.

Mr. HUGHES, referring to the remark in Mr. RIGBY’s Paper as to the difficulty of determining why the Church of OVER was situated a mile from the town, said he knew many places where the church was in like manner (and as it were to our modern minds erratically) placed. As to the “Prophet” NIXON—whom Mr. RIGBY believed to be a mythical person, he (Mr. HUGHES) was very sorry to say that he largely shared that feeling, and for a very good reason. He happened to be possessed of as good a collection of the various editions of this so-called Prophet’s prophecies as was perhaps to be found anywhere, and on comparing the various editions with facts, he had always found that the prophecies followed the events! (Laughter.)

Mr. RIGBY, in returning thanks for the complimentary vote which he had received, said he had spent a very pleasant evening on that occasion; for it had been a source of great satisfaction to draw his mind away from matters connected with the business of every-day life, and to wander into the past and collect what information was possible of an early period in their history. The more he knew of the past history of his own country, the more he felt proud of it! the more we knew of local history the more we respected those whom we called our forefathers! with regard to the reference he had made to the "ale tasters" in his Paper, he might add that the "ale taster" was appointed to go into the public-houses for the purpose of tasting the ale sold there, and if he found any adulterated, the person selling it was fined. That officer existed still at OVER, and on a certain day he could go into any tavern and drink as much as he liked!

The next Paper, by the Honorary Secretary, Mr. THOMAS HUGHES, on "THE CORPORATE AND OTHER MACES OF CHESHIRE," was called for by the CHAIRMAN, and at once read by its author. This Paper, so thoroughly local in its character and treatment, and dealing entirely with original authorities never before published, may possibly be accorded insertion in full in the SOCIETY'S next Volume of the *Journal*, but must at any rate be passed over here with this merely passing notice.

The CHAIRMAN asked the Lecturer if he had ever heard of the City Plate being sent to Guilden Sutton for safety during the Civil War, as that village was deemed in that day so very hard a place to find out?

Mr. HUGHES had heard that CROMWELL had tried to find it out, but had never succeeded. The same story slightly varied, was said, after the Restoration, of other retired villages in many of our English counties. Personally he believed there was nothing in the story. The business of the evening having thereupon terminated,

Mr. HUGHES explained to those members who desired to remain the various MACES, SEALS, CHARTERS, and other interesting official relics and emblems which had been kindly lent for the

occasion. The collection from CONGLETON was a most interesting one, including the Sweeps' Bells of that borough, and attracted much attention, and not a little pleasantry and happy comment.

April 22. A meeting was held at the Old Episcopal Palace, Abbey Square, Mr. SHERIFF GERRARD in the chair.

Mr. CHARLES W. DUNCAN read a scholarly and most interesting Paper "ON ANCIENT ENGLISH LAND TENURES," illustrating his subject almost entirely from Local Authorities gathered with much judgment and ability from the Historic Records of the County of CHESTER. It may yet be determined to publish Mr. DUNCAN's Paper *in extenso*.

The CHAIRMAN having expressed the pleasure he had derived from the interesting matter contained in the Paper, invited discussion.

Mr. T. HUGHES, responding to the call, said he had listened with very great pleasure to the admirable Paper which had just been read, and he rejoiced that he had a hand in inducing Mr. DUNCAN to come before the SOCIETY on that occasion. Referring to incidents relating to Cheshire history mentioned in the Paper, Mr. HUGHES said he should like to add a few remarks of his own. He believed the custom in former times, when the heads of criminals were presented to CHESTER, was to exhibit them on the top of the old Eastgate, a spike being in the centre of the Gate, and on this the head was placed and allowed to remain probably for a year or two, when it was removed. As to the Sergeants of the several Gates of the City, he might remark that LORD CREWE held the Sergeanty of the Eastgate at the present time, and had the power to appoint a Deputy-Sergeant of the Gate; nay, there was actually at present a Deputy-Sergeant, who had held the office for nearly 40 years, and was now between 80 and 90 years of age, and he received annually from LORD CREWE his stipend in right of such appointment. With respect to the pepper-corn rent referred to by Mr. DUNCAN, Mr. HUGHES produced an interesting deed, conveying land to the extent of several thousand acres in Pennsylvania, to one JOHN BROCK, of CHESHIRE, at a rent of one pepper-corn annually. The deed was signed by WILLIAM PENN, whose signature was perfectly legible. He also showed a deed of conveyance

about 500 years old, in which a Middlewich lady conveyed large property to her son for the mere fancy payment of four-pence annually, and on every Christmas Day he was specially charged to make her a present of a pair of gloves.

After a few remarks from Mr. WYNNE FFOULKES on the "tenure of sergeanty," and from Mr. AYRTON on the custom of blowing the horn, a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. DUNCAN for his valuable and interesting Paper, and to the SHERIFF for his kindness in presiding, and also for presenting the SOCIETY with a valuable Medical MS.

The proceedings then terminated.

September 22nd. The Winter Session of the SOCIETY was commenced in the Chapter House of the Cathedral, where a large and influential audience assembled to listen to a Lecture from the Rev. CANON BLOMFIELD on the "Old Episcopal Palace and its History," with a sketch also of the several Bishops who had been appointed to the See of Chester. The Chair was occupied by the DEAN OF CHESTER, and a very pleasant evening was spent.

The EARL OF HADDINGTON proposed a vote of thanks to CANON BLOMFIELD for his very able and interesting Lecture.

The LORD BISHOP of the DIOCESE seconded the motion, and remarked that he considered the Lecture not only able and interesting, but instructive and amusing.

CANON BLOMFIELD replied, and the Meeting came to a close.

The party then proceeded to visit and inspect various parts of the Cathedral Precincts, including the old Abbot's Wine Cellar, the Shrine of St. WERBURGH, the Crypts, the Abbot's Parlour, and the Vestibule leading to the Palace, the interesting features in connection with which were lucidly explained by the learned CANON.

Nov. 13. A Meeting was held at the Old Bishop's Palace, when Mr. EWEN read a most interesting Paper on "ANCIENT TAPESTRY;" and the DEAN OF CHESTER, who lent the large Tapestry preserved in the Cathedral, and which is popularly known as "Elymas, the Sorcerer, struck blind before St. Paul," made

THE A T Elymas the Sorcerer Str

Eng^d Printed & Fram'd by J. Hunt



BY PERM

To the very Reverend Rob.^t Hodgson Dean of
this Plate is Inscr'd by their

A P I E C E.
with Blindness. Acts XIII.

Worship of the Chester Cathedral 1818.



S I O N.
*CHESTER, D.D. & all the Gentlemen of the Chapter
Obliged and Obedient Servant
James Hunter*

some Remarks on this and other Ancient Representations of St. PAUL in Art. The Chair was occupied by the Right Reverend DR. WILLIAM JACOBSON, Lord Bishop of Chester. The attendance was most numerous; among the audience being the late Mr. RALPH WALDO EMERSON, the celebrated American Writer and Poet, who was just then on a visit to this country to improve his health.

Mr. EWEN's Paper was a complete digest of all that was known in our times of the History and Manufacture of the valuable Tapestries preserved in many different parts of this country and the Continent, including especially the grand specimen in CHESTER CATHEDRAL; and was highly appreciated by all who heard it read, or who afterwards perused it in the Chester Newspapers, in which it was at the time very fully reported.

The BISHOP said the best thanks of those present were due to Mr. EWEN for his most instructive and interesting Paper. Reference had been made to the Tapestries in the House of Lords. There was a story connected with them that would be interesting to those who had not heard it before. On one occasion when the struggle between this country and France was being fought out on that great Western Continent, from which they had a distinguished visitor amongst them that evening—(applause)—the question was raised in the House of Lords, how far it was proper and becoming for any Christian nation to employ in its war with another Christian Nation the assistance of Indians, who fought with the knife and the scalpel. The Earl of Suffolk of that day unfortunately took the side of the Indians, and wound up his speech by saying "I see no reason why the Government of this country should not avail themselves of the help and advantages which God and Nature has placed within their reach." The great Earl of Chatham sprang up and exclaimed,—“God and Nature! Did I hear the Noble Earl aright? Did he not fear that his illustrious ancestor would frown upon him from yonder Tapestry?” The ancestor referred to was Admiral-in-Chief at the time when, with the aid of God's Providence, we defeated the Spanish Armada. Referring to the piece of Tapestry lent by Dr. Thomas, the Bishop said his theory regarding what it meant differed from that given by Mr. EWEN.

As many of those around him were no doubt aware, there were in England what were popularly known in Ecclesiastical Art as "Jesse" Windows, in which the genealogy of our Blessed Lord was traced; and he (the Bishop) believed that this was a "Jesse" Tapestry, and contained the genealogical tree branching out in different stages, and including the Four Evangelists, with allegorical animals, &c.

The DEAN of CHESTER then offered some remarks on the CATHEDRAL TAPESTRY, and then upon the "Representations of St. Paul in Art." THE DEAN's observations were fully reported at the time in the Chester Newspapers.

With reference to the ANCIENT NEEDLEWORK at the Cathedral, he said it was a matter of extreme interest to Chester people to learn when it was made, and how it came to the Cathedral. He had not been able to ascertain those facts quite beyond doubt. It was formerly a reredos in the Cathedral. There was a brick wall at the east side of the Choir, and between it and the Lady Chapel hung the Tapestry. They knew that this NEEDLEWORK was in the Cathedral in 1720, as it was spoken of then as a Tapestry from Raphael's Cartoon, and in such a manner as to imply that it had been there for a considerable time: and he (The Dean) thought, from that mode of speaking, they might presume that it had been there quite twenty years previously. That would bring them back to 1700, to the period of William the Third. It was rather remarkable that it exactly corresponded with the same subject in the Vatican; and hence it was extremely probable—almost certain—that it was worked from the Cartoon itself,—and if so, that circumstance greatly enhanced its value.

Mr. T. HUGHES said the Cathedral Tapestry was certainly in that building in the year 1698; for he found in the Treasurers' Books of the Dean and Chapter, to which he had had access through the Dean's kindness, that there were several entries referring to this very work. On the 28th April, 1698, there was "paid for cleaning the Tapestry at the Altar, £1 10s.;" 1699, "paid for mending Altar Cloth, 6s. 10d." In going on with his investigations in the Bishop's Registry, he found several items among the "terriers" in 1684 and 1686, one of which was "one Tapestry Hanging at the

Altar." There was reason for going back even further than 1684; for in 1664 and 1668 they found there was "paid for carrying the new hanging to the Cathedral, 4s. 6d." He believed this work was a present to the Chapter from LADY CALVELEY, widow of Sir HUGH CALVELEY, of Lea Hall, in this county. In 1666, also, there was "paid to Mr. Maycock for lining the Tapestry hanging, £2 17s." This being so, they traced the Needlework to the days of Charles the Second. At the time of the dissolution of the Monasteries he read that one or two things were graciously left in Chester Cathedral. The Commissioners of Henry the Eighth stated they left "one Veil and one Velvet Hanging on the wall where the Altar was." If that were the same, this Tapestry was nearly contemporary with the original work under the control of Raphael; but he apprehended *that* referred to one which preceded that which they had at present. Mr. Hughes also produced an engraving of the Tapestry, done by Mr. J. HUNTER, a Verger of the Cathedral in the year 1813, and that engraving contained upon the square panel the very inscription which was upon the cartoon, yet *now* the Tapestry did not contain it. He presumed that some Dean and Chapter objected to the letters, and had since that period removed the inscription. He concluded by proposing a vote of thanks to the DEAN for his remarks.

Mr. EWEN seconded the motion, and acknowledged the services rendered to him by numerous friends of the Society, in the loan of specimens to illustrate his Lecture. He was specially indebted to Mr Scott-Bankes, Mr. Cotton, Dr. Thomas, Messrs. Brown and Lamont, as well as the Society of Antiquaries, London, from whose Library he exhibited a handsome copy of the "Bayeux Tapestry Illustrations," published by that Society some years ago.

THE DEAN OF CHESTER having responded proposed a vote of thanks to the BISHOP for presiding over the Meeting, and on the appropriate suggestion of one present this motion was seconded by

MR. EMERSON, who returned the audience thanks for their unexpected kindness to a stranger who had the happiness that day of seeing for the first time this City, and viewing their grandly designed old temple which in its old age, when in ruins and

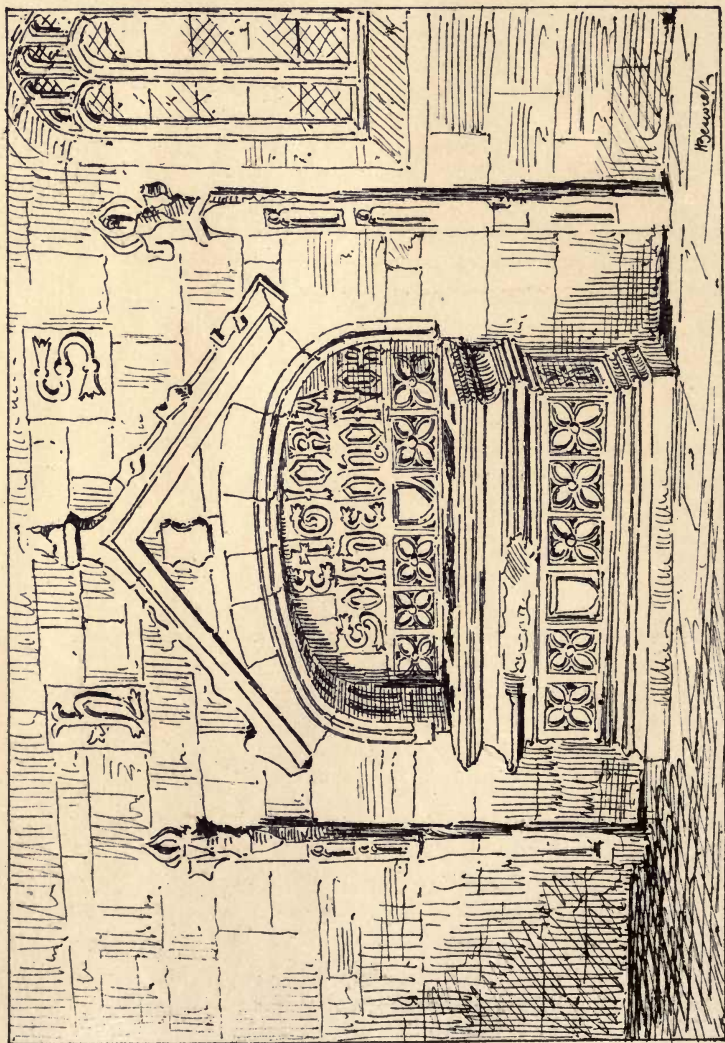
crumbling away, was now being restored to its best and more than its best condition,—all which was an object very charming to the stranger to see. Not only did he experience great happiness in meeting the presiding officers of the CATHEDRAL, and those of the CHESTER ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY,—and in renewing an old acquaintance with his good friend the BISHOP,—but it had given him great pleasure and satisfaction to hear the statements made with respect to that interesting relic of the CATHEDRAL. He felt his day in CHESTER had been most happily spent, and he had great pleasure in seconding the vote just proposed to the BISHOP.

To this motion, which was carried amidst applause, his LORDSHIP briefly replied,—and so the ordinary business was brought to a close.

Many of the company then stayed and inspected, under Mr. EWEN's direction, the large and interesting collection of Tapestry which was displayed here and there about the room, from the walls of which depended some very interesting specimens.

Mr. Whitehall Dod, of Llanerch, sent for exhibition a beautifully illuminated Charter from QUEEN MARY I. conveying, to an ancestor of his, estates in Kilken and other parishes in the neighbouring county of Flint.





H. Russell
Smyke & Co. Photo-Litho. London

MONUMENT TO HUGH STARKY, ESQUIRE.
 Over Church, Cheshire.

APPENDIX.

ST. CHAD'S CHURCH, OVER.

In Mr. RIGBY's interesting Paper on OVER, Vol. III, pp. 533-48, and of which we much regret we were unable to find room for more than a slight abstract, we omitted to describe so particularly as it deserved the curious and noteworthy, though rather late, ALTAR TOMB and BRASS to the memory of the re-Founder of the Church, HUGH STARKY, of DARLEY HALL.

Mr. H. BESWICK, the Artist who furnished the Architectural Drawings that accompany the Paper, has, in conjunction with Mr. JOHN HEWITT, one of our Members, obliged us with the following sufficient description of a hitherto almost unknown relic of CHESHIRE Monumental Art :—

The OLD CHURCH at OVER, as we have said dedicated to ST. CHAD, is situated in a retired glen, about a mile from the town, and a short distance from the highway leading from NANTWICH to OVER, near the River Weaver. It was rebuilt in 1543, by HUGH STARKY, Esq., and comprises a Nave, Chancel, and Aisles. It is a fair specimen of the perpendicular period of Gothic Architecture, but somewhat late in character. The TOWER is of pleasing proportion, four stories in height and embattled; and has had the Buttresses terminated by finials, which are now missing. A richly decorated frieze runs round the Tower beneath the Cornice.

On the South side of the Tower is a Niche with inscription, but so perished by time or ill-usage as not to be deciphered. The Porch or Parvise is two stories in height, and likewise embattled. Over the window above the Arch is a shield in a panel, with the Arms of STARKY and OULTON carried thereon.

We give a sketch of the PORCH and TOWER from the South side of the Church. So far as we know it has never been before engraved.

The SUN-DIAL shewn on this sketch, not however on account of its Architectural features, but because of its proximity to the PORCH, &c., was erected in 1745, and has the following Inscription :—

“ William Tomlinson,
Hugh Woodfent,
Churchwardens,
1745.”

Within the PORCH is a richly decorated Holy-water Basin, projecting from the wall, surmounted by a fine Crocketed Arch. Unfortunately this has been mutilated and broken.

The TOMB of the Re-builder of the Church, HUGH STARKY, Esq., is situated on the North Side of the Chancel, under a recessed obtuse Arch, having crocketed gables over the same, and projecting buttress (upon each side). The upper slab of the tomb is of black marble, bearing a very fine EFFIGY in BRASS of the above-named gentleman, with four shields engraved with the family arms, (an illustration is given of this Brass, see opposite page. A curious feature in connection with this Tomb is the inscription “*Et Gloria Soli deo honor,*” underneath the Arch; which has the letters left raised in stone three-quarters of an inch above the surface of the wall. The initials “H. S.” above the Tomb are similarly executed.

The following is a record of the Inscription on the Brass :—

“Off yo'r charite p'y for the soule of Hugh Starky of Olton esquier gentilman vsher [to] king henry ye viij & son to Hugh Starky of Olton esquier which Hugh ye son decessyd the yere of o' lord god m.b.' o' his soule Jhu haue m'cy.”*

From this it is evident that the Tomb was built during the lifetime of the said HUGH STARKY, and that the date of his death was not at the time (and has not since been) filled in.

In reference to this MONUMENT, the following extract from his WILL may prove interesting,—both the Will and Tomb having been made in the same year, though apparently not in conjunction.

* We give an illustration of this Inscribed Brass, reduced from a rubbing taken on the spot by Mr. JOHN HEWITT. The word [to] within the brackets in Roman type, was not originally on the Brass, but was added in probably the 17th century.



Of us charite yf to the soule of Hugh Starky of
 of this esquire a catelaine whiche knowe hym yf he be
 Hugh Starky of this esquire whiche had a son barthyl
 the nex of a lord now ad d^e this soule you have my

"W. D. H. 1875" "P. R. & CO. LONDON"

MONUMENTAL BRASS ON TOMB OF HUGH STARKY, ESQUIRE.
 Over Church, Cheshire.

"I will y't iff [it] ffortune me to dye w'th in the Countie of Chest'r that then my bodey shall be buried in ye Chansell of Ov', in my tombe there."

"Unto my said executors the advowson of ye viccarige of Ov', w'ch I haue by grant for the next avowdance therof; and I will y't my executors shall at ye next avowdance p'sent therunto Omffrey Lyghtfoote, Clerk, if he be then livinge."

"Unto ye said viccar of Ov' ls. for my mortuarie to pray for me."

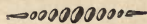
Another ALTAR TOMB, to the memory of the above HUGH STARKY's father and his wife MARGARET, formerly stood in the Chancel but has since been removed; the same fate befalling some stained glass figures of these persons in one of the windows (for description of which see Ormerod).

In 1870, the CHURCH was restored by removing the Galleries, cleansing the interior from the hideous whitewash that formerly disfigured this, like many of our Churches, and renewing the roof and seats throughout.

We conclude with the following slight description of the mottoes and inscriptions on the BELLS:—

- 1.—Peace and good neighbourhood, A. R. 1733.
- 2.—Joseph Lees, Vicar, A. R. 1733.
- 3.—Prosperity to this Parish, A. R. 1733.
- 4.—Charles Pickaring and Thos. Robinson, Churchwardens, A. R. 1733.
- 5.—The gift of Vicar Harden, recast 1733.

This cage of BELLS came from the celebrated Bell Foundry of Messrs. ABRAHAM RUDHALL & SON, of Gloucester; who were about that time engaged on similar work at St. JOHN's Church, CHESTER.



ERRATUM.—The EDITOR regrets that, through a transposition of the Press at pp. 376-9, the chronological sequence of Mr. EWEN's Paper on St. PETER's Church has not been fully maintained. For this, however, the EDITOR desires that he, and not Mr. EWEN, may be held responsible.



Leaf-shaped Stop, once supposed to be an "Omega," on ROMAN CENTURIAL TABLE no
in the SOCIETY'S MUSEUM.—*Vide* JOURNAL (Vol. III., pp. 8, 125) and Plate.

DR.

INCOME ACCOUNT, 1865 to 1882.

CR.

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|--------|----|----|
| 1865.—To Disbursements as per Secretary's detailed statement .. | 50 | 6 | 2 |
| 1866.—" Ditto ditto .. | 52 | 2 | 2 |
| 1867.—" Transferred to Derby House Purchase Account .. | 234 | 7 | 6 |
| 1868.—" Secretary's Disbursements .. | 52 | 3 | 8 |
| 1869.—" Derby House Account .. | 23 | 0 | 0 |
| 1870.—" Secretary's Disbursements .. | 36 | 5 | 4 |
| 1871.—" Derby House Account .. | 22 | 0 | 0 |
| 1872.—" Secretary's Disbursements .. | 60 | 5 | 10 |
| 1873.—" Derby House Account .. | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| 1874.—" Secretary's Disbursements .. | 57 | 16 | 5 |
| 1875.—" Derby House Account .. | 32 | 0 | 0 |
| 1876.—" Secretary's Disbursements .. | 89 | 17 | 7 |
| 1877.—" Derby House Account .. | 42 | 0 | 0 |
| 1878.—" Secretary's Disbursements .. | 103 | 6 | 1 |
| 1879.—" Derby House Account .. | 102 | 0 | 0 |
| 1880.—" Secretary's Disbursements .. | 61 | 14 | 5 |
| 1881.—" Derby House Account .. | 33 | 0 | 0 |
| 1882.—" Secretary's Disbursements .. | 55 | 11 | 2 |
| 1883.—" Derby House Account .. | 47 | 0 | 0 |
| 1884.—" Secretary's Disbursements .. | 38 | 16 | 0 |
| 1885.—" Derby House Account .. | 43 | 10 | 0 |
| 1886.—" Secretary's Disbursements .. | 88 | 16 | 1 |
| 1887.—" Derby House Account .. | 72 | 14 | 1 |
| 1888.—" Secretary's Disbursements .. | 44 | 0 | 0 |
| 1889.—" Derby House Account .. | 78 | 9 | 6 |
| 1890.—" Secretary's Disbursements .. | 43 | 0 | 0 |
| 1891.—" Derby House Account .. | 36 | 4 | 3 |
| 1892.—" Secretary's Disbursements .. | 44 | 0 | 0 |
| 1893.—" Derby House Account .. | 31 | 6 | 0 |
| 1894.—" Secretary's Disbursements .. | 30 | 0 | 0 |
| 1895.—" Secretary's Disbursements .. | 30 | 8 | 6 |
| Dec. 31.—To Cash in Messrs. Williams & Co.'s Bank .. | 62 | 4 | 11 |
| | £1,853 | 5 | 8 |

| | £ | s. | d. |
|--|-----|----|----|
| 1865. | | | |
| Jan. 1.—By Balance in Messrs. Williams & Co.'s Bank .. | 162 | 14 | 0 |
| " Receipts for the year 1865 .. | 137 | 8 | 6 |
| " Ditto .. | 90 | 0 | 0 |
| " Ditto .. | 103 | 17 | 6 |
| " Ditto .. | 25 | 10 | 0 |
| " Ditto .. | 5 | 10 | 0 |
| " Ditto .. | 84 | 5 | 0 |
| " Ditto .. | 140 | 2 | 6 |
| " Ditto .. | 135 | 17 | 6 |
| " Ditto .. | 116 | 0 | 0 |
| " Ditto .. | 143 | 8 | 0 |
| " Ditto .. | 120 | 7 | 6 |
| " Ditto .. | 118 | 5 | 0 |
| " Ditto .. | 94 | 15 | 0 |
| " Ditto .. | 78 | 5 | 0 |
| " Ditto .. | 47 | 18 | 10 |
| " Ditto .. | 16 | 1 | 3 |
| " Ditto .. | 4 | 9 | 5 |
| 1882. | | | |
| Dec. 31.—To Balance, being the amount due to the Hon. Secretary .. | 127 | 0 | 8 |

13th June, 1883.—Examined and found correct,
(Signed) H. W. JONES.
14th June, 1883.—(Signed) T. DAVIES-COLLEY, Chairman.

£1,853 5 8

Dr. STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR 1883. Cr.

| | £ | s. | d. | | £ | s. | d. |
|---|------|----|----|--|----|----|----|
| To Thomas Pritchard, One Year's Salary | 8 | 0 | 0 | By Balance of Income Account | 62 | 4 | 11 |
| " Natural Science Society, One Year's Rent | 20 | 0 | 0 | " Annual Subscriptions for 1883, viz. :- | | | |
| " G. R. Griffith, for Printing | 0 | 13 | 0 | 57 Full Members | 57 | 0 | 0 |
| " Minshull & Hughes, for Stationery | 0 | 16 | 8 | 1 Ditto, ditto | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| " Gregg & Son's Account, Derby House | 8 | 6 | 10 | 32 Associate ditto | 16 | 0 | 0 |
| " W. T. Watkin, for One Copy of "Roman Lancashire" | 1 | 5 | 0 | 1 ditto, ditto | 1 | 0 | 6 |
| " W. Hitchen, for Joiners' Work | 2 | 5 | 6 | 4 Lady ditto | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| " H. Beswick, for Drawings of St. Peter's Church | 5 | 0 | 0 | " Mr. Warburton's Extra Subscription | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| " Sprague & Co., for Engravings for <i>Journal</i> | 15 | 10 | 0 | " Mr. James Rogers, Rents of Derby House | 52 | 9 | 11 |
| " W. W. Tasker, for sundry Coins, &c., &c. | 3 | 7 | 6 | " Two Copies of Transactions sold, per Mr. G. W. Shrubsole ... | 0 | 15 | 0 |
| " John Seance, for Binding <i>Journals</i> | 2 | 5 | 0 | " Interest allowed by Bank | 1 | 14 | 6 |
| " Liverpool, London, and Globe Insurance Co., | | | | | | | |
| " Mr. Thomas Hughes, being first portion of the amount due to him | 63 | 10 | 4 | | | | |
| " Secretary's Account for Sundries and Postage | 3 | 11 | 8 | | | | |
| " Balance in Williams & Co's Bank | 57 | 4 | 4 | | | | |
| | £193 | 15 | 10 | | | | |

29th October, 1884.—Examined and found correct,
(Signed) H. W. JONES.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR 1884.

Cr.

| | £ | s. | d. |
|--|------|----|----|
| To Chester Society of Natural Science, One Year's Rent | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| " Thomas Pritchard, Salary for One Year | 8 | 0 | 0 |
| " Mr. Thomas Hughes's second moiety of the amount due to him | 63 | 10 | 4 |
| " <i>Courant</i> , Balance of Account to 1879 | 28 | 17 | 0 |
| " M. Pullan, for Printing, &c. | 9 | 18 | 0 |
| " H. Beswick, Illustrations for <i>Journal</i> | 0 | 17 | 6 |
| " Minihull & Meeson, for Stationery | 0 | 3 | 6 |
| " M. Pownall, for Framing Photographs | 0 | 6 | 10 |
| " Liverpool, London, and Globe Insurance Co. | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| " Secretary's Account for Sundries and Postages | 4 | 8 | 0 |
| " Cheque Book | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| " Balance in Williams & Co.'s Bank | 63 | 16 | 5 |
| | £202 | 2 | 7 |

| | £ | s. | d. |
|--|----|----|----|
| By Balance | 57 | 4 | 4 |
| " Annual Subscriptions for 1884:— | | | |
| 60 Full Members at 20/- | 60 | 0 | 0 |
| 1 Ditto, ditto at 21/- | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| 46 Associate ditto at 10/- | 23 | 0 | 0 |
| 2 Lady ditto at 5/- | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| " Mr. Warburton's Extra Subscription | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| " Arrears of Subscriptions for 1883 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| " Derby House Rents, per Mr. William Shone | 43 | 0 | 5 |
| " Balance of Derby House Rents, per Mr. James Rogers | 13 | 10 | 5 |
| " Bankers' Interest | 1 | 16 | 5 |

£202 2 7

26th May, 1886.—Examined and found correct, H. W. JONES.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR 1885.

Cr.

| | £ | s. | d. |
|--|------|----|----|
| To Chester Society of Natural Science, One Year's Rent | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| " Joseph Jones, Salary for One Year | 8 | 0 | 0 |
| " Wm. Haswell, Moving Stones from White Friars | 17 | 17 | 0 |
| " M. Pullan for Printing, &c. | 5 | 4 | 6 |
| " Chester Town Council, Moving Stones to Water Tower Grounds | 5 | 6 | 10 |
| " G. W. Shrubsole, for sundry Coins, &c., &c. | 3 | 8 | 9 |
| " H. Beswick, for Illustrations for <i>Journal</i> | 2 | 14 | 6 |
| " Jno. Hewitt, for preparing Index for Vol. III. of <i>Journal</i> | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| " Liverpool, London, and Globe Insurance Co. | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| " Secretary's Account for Sundries, Postages, &c. | 2 | 15 | 0 |
| " Balance in Williams & Co.'s Bank | 103 | 0 | 5 |
| | £172 | 9 | 0 |

| | £ | s. | d. |
|--|------|----|----|
| By Balance | 63 | 16 | 5 |
| " One Copy of <i>Journal</i> sold | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| " Annual Subscriptions for 1885:— | | | |
| 60 Full Members at 20/- | 60 | 0 | 0 |
| 1 Ditto, ditto at 21/- | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| 37 Associate ditto at 10/- | 18 | 10 | 0 |
| 1 Ditto, ditto | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| 4 Lady ditto at 5/- | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| " Mr. Warburton's Extra Subscription | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| " Arrears of Subscriptions for 1884 .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| " Derby House Rents, per Mr. William Shone | 23 | 8 | 8 |
| " Bankers' Interest | 1 | 17 | 5 |
| | £173 | 9 | 0 |

May, 1886.—Examined and found correct, H. W. JONES.

Dr. SUMMARY OF INCOME ACCOUNT, BETWEEN JAN., 1865, & DEC., 1882. Cr.

| | £ | s. | d. | | £ | s. | d. |
|--|--------|----|----|---|--------|----|-----------|
| To Disbursements by Secretary | 1026 | 3 | 3 | 1865. | | | |
| „ Payments on Derby House Purchase Account | 769 | 17 | 6 | Jan. 1.—By Balance | | | 162 14 0 |
| Dec. 31.— „ Cash in Bank | 62 | 4 | 11 | 1882. „ Receipts from all sources | | | 1568 11 0 |
| | £1,838 | 5 | 8 | Dec. 31. „ Amount due to Hon. Secretary | | | 127 0 8 |
| | | | | | £1,858 | 5 | 8 |

Audited and found correct,
(Signed) H. W. JONES.

Dr. SUMMARY OF DERBY HOUSE PURCHASE ACCOUNT. Cr.

| | £ | s. | d. | | £ | s. | d. |
|--|--------|----|----|---|--------|----|----------|
| To Purchase Money | 775 | 0 | 0 | By Rents received, per Mr. James Rogers | | | 335 4 6 |
| „ J. Jones, in discharge of his claim | 18 | 0 | 5 | „ Transfers from General Account | | | 769 17 6 |
| „ Interest on Purchase Money, 1866 to 1880 | 312 | 1 | 7 | | £1,105 | 2 | 0 |
| | £1,105 | 2 | 0 | | | | |

Audited and found correct,
(Signed) H. W. JONES.

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VOL. III.



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FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY.

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Archaeological, Architectural, and Historic Society,

FOR

The County, City, and Neighbourhood of Chester.

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Ladies and Gentlemen desiring to become Members, are invited to send in their names to either of the Secretaries, under the above addresses, or through any Subscriber.

Subscriptions are due from January 1st, and should be paid by March 25th in each year, to Mr. GEORGE FRATER, The Old Bank, Chester.

P R E F A C E.

AFTER numerous delays and disappointments,—for many (probably all) of which, the EDITORIAL SECRETARY fears, he must himself alone be held responsible,—the Members of the CHESTER ARCHITECTURAL, ARCHAEOLOGICAL, AND HISTORIC SOCIETY are here presented with the Third VOLUME of its PROCEEDINGS.

For all those at first sight unseemly and unreasonable delays there is but one excuse to offer, viz:—long protracted Illness of a most dangerous and distressing kind, and from which it cannot be said that he is even now more than partially recovered. And yet this one plea, it is hoped, will be regarded as valid and sufficient by that always friendly and sympathetic tribunal of critics,—his brother Members. And now along with a gradual, even if but temporary, return to rather better health has come the desire to prove of some little further service to the Cheshire Antiquarian Cause; and as an earnest of that wish, this completion of VOLUME III. of the *Journal* will he trusts be generously and lovingly accepted.

Of the Contents of the present VOLUME it will not be necessary to say much by way of PREFACE. Prominent as a contribution to Archaeological Literature generally, but to that of this COUNTY and CITY OF CHESTER in particular, we have the learned and exhaustive Paper by DR. BRUSHFIELD on “the ROMAN REMAINS OF CHESTER,” as exemplified by those discovered in BRIDGE STREET in 1863. Of that Lecture (or rather Lectures, for it had perforce to be divided in twain and so form the material for two consecutive Meetings,) it is only due to record that no previous work done for our Society had drawn larger audiences, or received from outside critics such high and well-deserved encomiums.

MR. WORTH HOARE’s Lecture on “the OLD ENGLISH MANOR OF STALEY or *Staley*” (now largely merged in the Borough of STALYBRIDGE), was the first attempt, and that a successful one, at a History of the Modern town, traced from its Roman origin through its *Bucton Hill* and the not far off *Milandra Castle*, and so, by occasional glimpses at its modest life in the middle ages, leading us down to the more ambitious ‘Cheshire Cottonopolis’ of to-day.

MR. BEAMONT’s Lecture on “RICHARD III.” forms a scholarly chapter of English history, based on the dramatic story immortalised

by *Shakspeare*, and rendered charmingly local to us Cheshire readers by the poetic prose of a venerated friend,—one of the few still living Original Members of our SOCIETY!

But perhaps the chief literary treasure of the Volume is, and will continue to be, the Lecture on “the ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF CHESTER CATHEDRAL,” by England’s greatest authority on the later Gothic Revival,—SIR GILBERT SCOTT, R.A.. Nothing could exceed the graphic power of the gifted Lecturer, as he first of all described in lecture-form to his large and influential audience, the Architectural History of the sacred structure which had been confided to his “restoring” care. Nor could anything have rivalled the wondrous minuteness with which, in his after perambulation of the Cathedral itself, he pointed out the leading features and structural peculiarities that had been made manifest, some of them for the first time for centuries, in the grand work of the original Architects, as well as in the efforts—not always so uniformly happy—of the successive Restorers. All this has been preserved to us in these pages, and illustrated by a native architect, MR. EDWARD HUGHES, under the watchful eye of the late SIR GILBERT himself, in a manner that could not possibly be improved upon.

The Papers respectively of DRS. ROBSON and KENDRICK,—the former on “THE ROMAN ROADS OF NORTH CHESHIRE, and the latter on “THE ROMAN STATION regarded as the semi-classical *Condote*,” and by those two industrious but now alas! deceased Antiquaries set down as at WILDERSPOOL, on the Cheshire confines of Warrington,—are alike Papers of great intrinsic value to the local Archaeologist and Historian of the future. MR. BEAMONT’s Paper, again, on Shakspeare’s “HENRY IV.” forms an excellent local sequel to his “RICHARD II.” above referred to.

Then follows “CHESTER IN ITS EARLY YOUTH,” in which an attempt has been made by its author to depict some of the characteristics and a few of the relics of our Roman “DEVA.” CANON BLOMFIELD, too, in his “PURITANISM IN CHESTER IN 1637” tells us, as few save he could have presumed or been able to do so well, what the old City’s life, religious and social, was like in the 17th century: while *en suite* to this, Dr. KENDRICK’s “WARRINGTON LOCAL SKETCHES” form an appropriate variety to the more severe and solid Papers which go to make up the Volume.

MR. EWEN, in an interesting and well-thought-out Paper on "ST. PETER'S CHURCH, CHESTER," has given the cue to other students and labourers in the local Antiquarian field, as to the infinity of Historic material lying almost untouched in the Parish Chests of the city and county. He has pointed out—from the example of ST. PETER'S,—the whereabouts of documentary and other evidence which, judiciously handled, would make the old churches and mansions, the picturesque farmhouses and even the quaint village streets and cottages in and about Cheshire, scenes of living interest in the world of Local By-gone.

Full of deep research, equally so of ripe scholarship and charming poetic truth, is MISS EMILY S. HOLT's article on "ELIZABETH, DUCHESS OF CLARENCE," daughter-in-law to King EDWARD III. In this little cameo from English history in the 14th century, the life and fortunes of a spendthrift royal lady are set forth, by means of the original Public Records of the period, down to her death in Ireland and the passage across the channel of her body to its first resting-place at NESTON in this county, and thence by way of CHESTER to its final home in Suffolk. No more accurate Paper has ever graced the annals of an Antiquarian Society.

DEAN HOWSON'S Lecture on "MILTON AND THE RIVER DEE," valuable and instructive as it was of itself at the date of its delivery, has acquired an additional and a melancholy interest for us his associates by the fact of his recent and lamented decease,—just at a time too, when every one hoped there might be reserved for him a few more years of that intelligent and thorough "work" which had through his life so eminently distinguished him!

A Paper entitled "THE CITY AGAINST THE ABBEY," treats of certain misunderstandings and disputes rife in the middle ages between the CATHEDRAL and the CORPORATION Authorities of CHESTER. Other Lectures, contributed by staunch friends of the Society, appear in the Volume; among which may be named Mr. THOMAS RIGBY'S valuable compilation on "the Ancient CHESHIRE BOROUGH OF OVER."

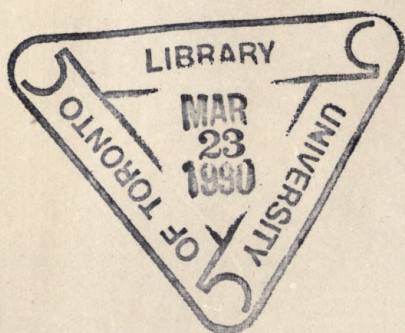
The concluding Paper in Volume III., by the SOCIETY'S and CHESTER'S revered friend, the late CANON KINGSLEY,—on "PRIMÆVAL MAN,"—will of course be regarded by our brethren merely as a newspaper digest of his remarks; and as simply a

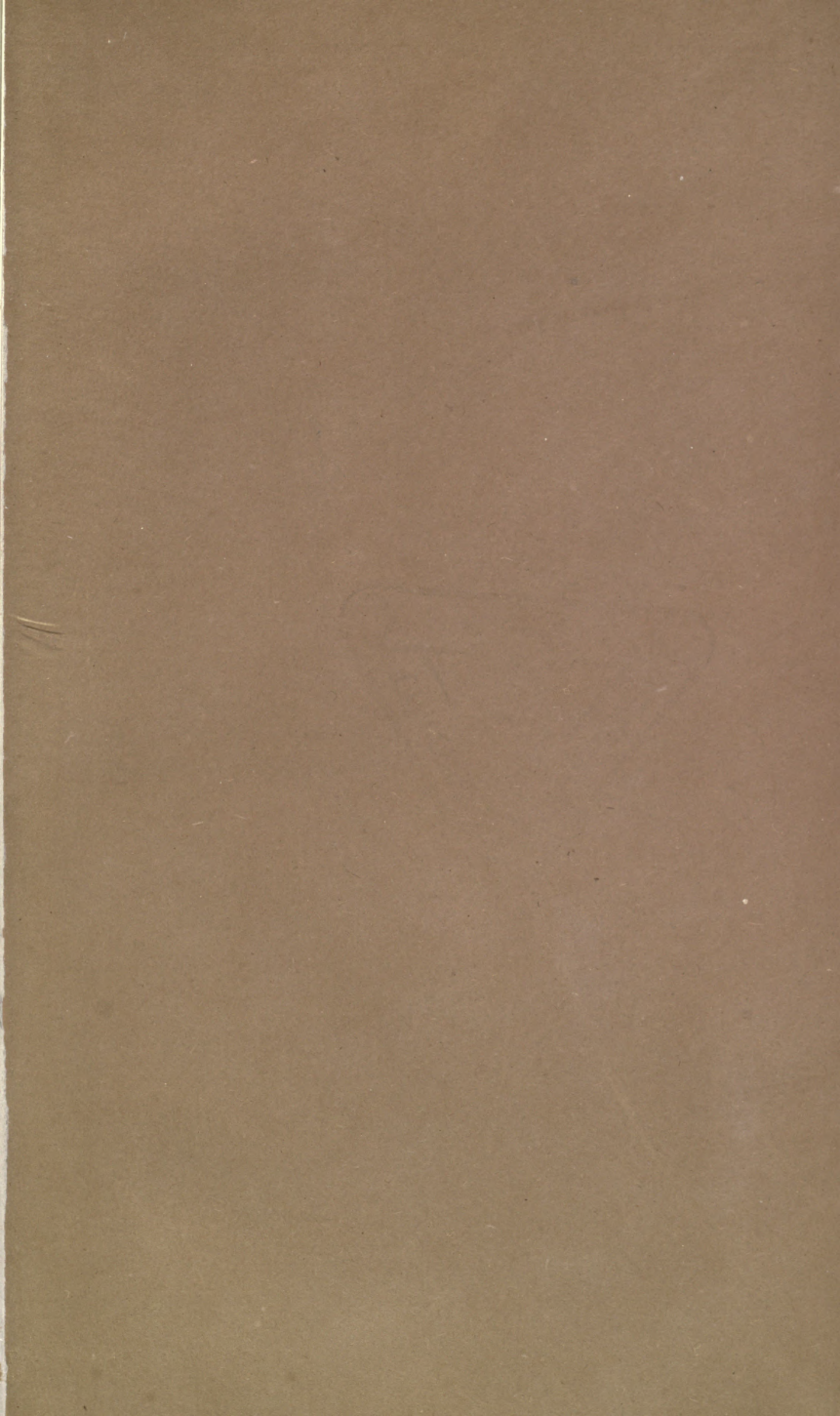
skeleton of what we might have expected, had not the good Canon's death prevented the completion of an important scientific Essay. But meagre though it is, it will serve to keep us sensible of the mine of wealth we have lost, and of the genial fellow-worker and helper we once had, in the universally beloved CHARLES KINGSLEY!

During the progress of the Volume, numerous and valuable Additions have been made to the SOCIETY'S Collection of LOCAL ANTIQUITIES, especially those of the ROMAN period. For these the COUNCIL are indebted to the generosity of the MAYOR AND CORPORATION OF CHESTER, the DUKE OF WESTMINSTER, the DEAN AND CHAPTER OF CHESTER, the UNITED GAS COMPANY, Messrs. FREDERICK POTTS, F. BULLIN, Miss PEACOCK, and numerous others. Nor must it be forgotten, neither left unsaid that, during the last few years, the duty of securing and caring for the large proportion of the Roman Antiquities brought to light in "underground CHESTER" has been mainly performed by the SOCIETY'S Honorary Curator, MR. G. W. SHRUBSOLE, F.G.S. To him has been chiefly due the careful storage and arrangement of that COLLECTION, the public exhibition of which, as well to citizens as to strangers, will henceforward be one of the prominent SIGHTS OF CHESTER. Let us here express an earnest hope that Owners of Property, the Clergy, Architects, Contractors, and Builders, will each loyally aid us in preserving to our old City, and to Archaeological and Historic Science generally, every Object of Antiquarian interest that may occur in Excavations from time to time in CHESTER and its Neighbourhood, thus adding greatly to the usefulness, popularity, and glory of the Collection!

VOLUME III. by the way, reaches its conclusion just at the Opening of The New "GROSVENOR MUSEUM," a Building which,—by the munificence of His Grace the DUKE OF WESTMINSTER, K.G., supplemented by other valued Friends and Subscribers,—the CHESTER ARCHITECTURAL, ARCHAEOLOGICAL, AND HISTORIC SOCIETY is hereafter, side by side with the NATURAL SCIENCE SOCIETY and SCHOOL OF ART, to have and enjoy as its truly palatial HOME! As, however, the Ceremony of Opening has, at the time we write, not actually been performed, and as the whole story will doubtless hereafter be more circumstantially put on record, we refrain from further reference to it here.

July, 1886.





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